

THE

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WORKS

OF

Jonathan Swift, D. D.

Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

VOLUME V. PART II.

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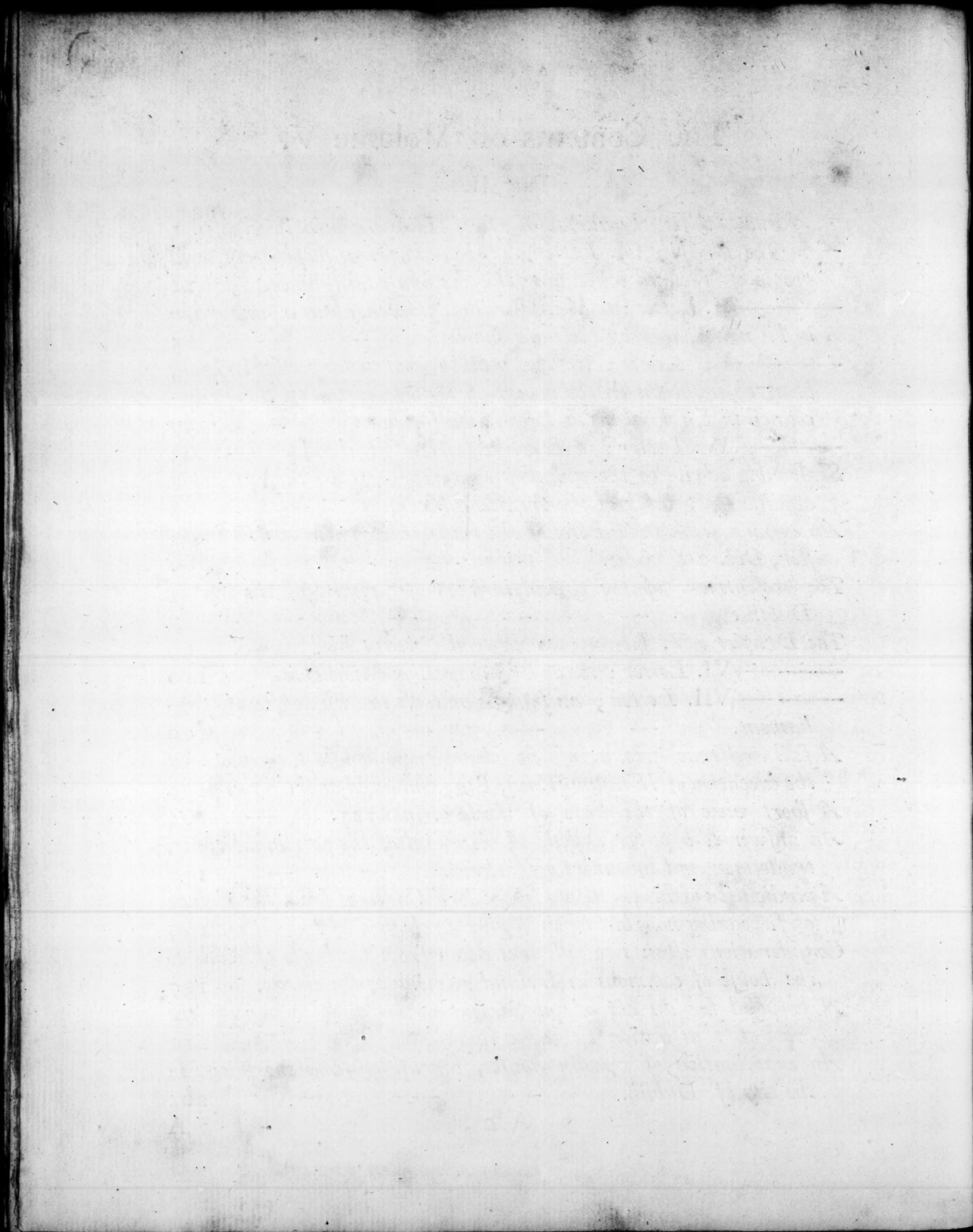
W. O. R. S.



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PROPOSAL*

FOR THE

UNIVERSAL USE

OF

IRISH MANUFACTURE, *etc.*

Written in the Year 1724.

IT is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities or productions lie under the greatest discouragements from *England*, those are what they are sure to be most industrious in cultivating and spreading. *Agriculture*, which hath been the principal care of all wise nations, and for the encouragement whereof there are so many statute-laws in *England*, we countenance so well, that the land-

* This treatise spread very fast, upon which a person in great office sent in hast for the chief justice (*Whitshed*) and informed him of a seditious factious and virulent pamphlet lately published, with a design of setting the two kingdoms at variance, directing at the same time, that the printer should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour.—The chief justice had so quick an understanding, that he resolved if possible to out-do his orders.—The printer was seized, and forced to give great bail:—the jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been culled with the utmost industry: the chief justice sent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, untill being tired out they were forced to leave the

matter to the mercy of the judge by what they call a *special verdict*. During the trial the chief justice among other singularities laid his hand on his breast, and protested solemnly, that the author's design was to bring in the *pretender*: but the cause being so very odious and impopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, untill upon (the d. of *G—ft—n*) the lord lieutenant's arrival, his grace, after mature advice and permission from *England*, was pleased to grant a *noli prosequi*. *Pope's works*, vol. ix. letter 5.

This piece first turned the tide of popularity in the author's favour. *Orrery*.

lords are every where by *penal clauses* absolutely prohibiting their tenants from ploughing †, not satisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the *English*; one effect of which is already seen in the prodigious dearness of corn, and the importation of it from *London*, as the cheaper market. And because people are the *riches of a country*, and that our *neighbours* have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them; therefore the politic gentlemen of *Ireland* have depopulated vast tracts of the best land, for the feeding of sheep.

I could fill a volume, as large as the *history of the wise men of Gotham*, with a catalogue only of some *wonderful* laws and customs we have observed within thirty years past. It is true indeed, our beneficial traffick of wool with *France* hath been our only support for several years past, furnishing us with all the little money we have to pay our rents, and go to market. But our merchants assure me, *this trade hath received a great damp by the present fluctuating condition of the coin in France: that most of their wine is paid for in specie, without carrying thither any commodity from hence.*

However, since we are so universally bent upon enlarging our *flocks*, it may be worth inquiring, what we shall do with our wool, in case *Barnstable* * should be over-stocked, and our *French* commerce should fail?

I could wish the parliament had thought fit to have suspended their regulation of *church* matters, and enlargements of the *prerogative*, until a more convenient time, because they did not appear very pressing, at least to the persons *principally concerned*;

† It was the practice of *Irish* farmers to wear out their ground with *ploughing*, neither manuring nor letting it lie fallow, and when their leases were near expired, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that the land-

lords by their zeal to prevent it were betrayed into this pernicious measure.

* A sea-port in *Devonshire*, at that time the principal market in *England* for *Irish* wool.

and,

and, instead of these great refinements in *politicks* and *divinity*, had *amused* themselves and their committies a little with the *state of the nation*. For example : what if the house of commons had thought fit to make a resolution, *nemine contradicente*, against wearing any cloth or stuff in their families, which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom ? What if they had extended it so far as utterly to exclude all silks, velvets, callicoes, and the whole *lexicon* of female fopperies ; and declared, that whoever acted otherwise, should be deemed and reputed *an enemy to the nation* ? What if they had sent up such a resolution to be agreed to by the house of lords ; and by their own practice and encouragement spread the execution of it in their several countries ? What if we should agree to make *burying in woollen a fashion*, as our neighbours have made it a *law* ? What if the ladies would be content with *Irish* stuffs for the furniture of their houses, for gowns and petticoats for themselves and their daughters ? Upon the whole, and to crown all the rest, let a firm resolution be taken by *male* and *female* never to appear with one single *shred*, that comes from *England* ; and let all the people say, AMEN.

I hope, and believe, nothing could please his majesty better than to hear, that his loyal subjects of both sexes in this kingdom * celebrated his *birth-day* (now approaching) *universally* clad in their own manufacture. Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people to save them from the brink of ruin ? If the mens opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handsome in stuffs as in brocades ; and, since all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in chusing and matching patterns and colours. I heard the late archbishop of *Tuam* mention a pleasant observation of some body's ; *that Ireland would never be happy 'till a law were made for burning*

* Her grace the dutchess of *Dorset*, the lord lieutenant's lady, is said to have appeared at the *Castle* in *Dublin* wholly clad in the manufacture of *Ireland* on his majesty's birth-day 1753.

every thing, that came from England, except their people and their coals. I must confess, that as to the former, I should not be sorry if they would stay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little time we shall have no occasion for them.

Non tanti mitra est, non tanti judicis ostrum,

but I should rejoice to see a *stay-lace* from *England* be thought scandalous, and become a topick for *censure* at *visits* and *tea-tables*.

If the unthinking shop-keepers in this town had not been utterly destitute of common sense, they would have made some *proposal to the parliament*, with a *petition* to the purpose I have mentioned; promising to improve the *cloths and stuffs* of the nation into all possible degrees of *fineness and colours*, and engaging not to play the knave, according to their custom, by exacting and imposing upon the nobility and gentry either as to the prices or the goodness. For I remember, in *London* upon a general mourning the rascally *mercens* and *woollen drapers* would in four and twenty hours raise their *cloths and silks* to above a double price; and if the mourning continued long, then come whining with *petitions* to the court, that they were ready to starve, and their *fineries* lay upon their hands.

I could wish, our shop-keepers would immediately think on this *proposal*, addressing it to all persons of quality and others; but first be sure to get some body who can write sense to put it into form.

I think it needless to exhort the *clergy* to follow this good example; because in a little time those among them, who are so unfortunate to have had their birth and education in this country, will think themselves abundantly happy, when they can afford *Irish crape* and an *Atblone hat*; and as to the others, I shall not presume to direct them. I have indeed seen the present archbishop of *Dublin* clad from head to foot in our own manufacture;

ture ; and yet under the rose be it spoken, *his grace deserveth as good a gown, as if he had not been born among us.* *

I have not courage enough to offer one syllable on this subject to *their honours* of the army : neither have I sufficiently considered the great importance of *scarlet and gold lace*.

The fable in *Ovid* of *Arachne* and *Pallas* is to this purpose. The goddesses had heard of one *Arachne*, a young virgin very famous for *spinning* and *weaving* : they both met upon a trial of skill ; and *Pallas* finding herself almost equalled in her own art, stung with rage and envy, knockt her *rival* down, and turned her into a spider ; enjoining her to *spin and weave* for ever out of *her own bowels*, and in a very narrow compass. I confess, that from a boy I always pitied poor *Arachne*, and could never heartily love the goddess on account of so *cruel and unjust a sentence* ; which however is *fully executed* upon us by *England* with further additions of *rigour* and *severity*, for the greatest part of *our bowels* and *vitals* is extracted without allowing us † the liberty of *spinning* and *weaving* them.

The scripture tells us, that *oppression maketh a wise man mad*, therefore consequently speaking the reason, why some men are not *mad*, is because they are not *wise* : however it were to be wished, that *oppression* would in time teach a little *wisdom* to *fools*.

I was much delighted with a person, who hath a great estate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me, *how grievously poor England suffers by impositions from Ireland* : that we convey our own wool to France in spite of all the harpies at the custom-house : that Mr. Shuttleworth, and others on the Cheshire coasts, are such fools to sell us their bark at a good price for tanning our own hides into leather : with other enormities of the like weight and kind. To

* Doctor KING.

† In the spring 1753 the parliament of *England* passed an act for permitting the exportation of wool, and woollen or bay yarn, from any

port in *Ireland* to any port in *England* : which was before prohibited. And

In the winter 1753 the *Irish* parliament prohibited the importation of gold and silver lace, except of the manufacture of *England*.

which

which I will venture to add more : *that the mayoralty of this city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which might as well be done by a deputy with a moderate salary, whereby poor England loseth at least one thousand pounds a year upon the balance : that the governing of this kingdom costs the lord lieutenant three thousand six hundred pounds a year ; so much net loss to poor England : that the people of Ireland presume to dig for coals in their own grounds ; and the farmers in the county of Wicklow send their turf to the very market of Dublin, to the great discouragement of the coal trade of Mostyn* and Whitehaven: that the revenues of the Post-office here, so righteously belonging to the English treasury as arising chiefly from our own commerce with each other, should be remitted to London clogged with that grievous burthen of exchange ; and the pensions paid out of the Irish revenues to English favourites should lie under the same disadvantage, to the great loss of the grantees. When a divine is sent over to a bishoprick here with the hopes of five and twenty hundred pounds a year ; and upon his arrival he finds, alas ! a dreadful discount of ten or twelve per cent : a judge, or a commissioner of the revenue has the same cause of complaint. Lastly, The ballad upon Cotter is vehemently suspected to be Irish manufacture ; and yet is allowed to be sung in our open streets, under the very nose of the government.*

These are a few, among the many hardships, we put upon that poor kingdom of *England* ; for which, I am confident, every honest man wisheth a remedy : and I hear, there is a project on foot for transporting our best wheaten straw by sea and land carriage to *Dunstable* ; and obliging us by a law to take off yearly so many tun of straw hats for the use of our women ; which will be a great encouragement to the manufacture of that industrious town.

* *Mostyn in Flintshire, and Whitehaven in Cumberland.*

I would

I would be glad to learn among the divines, whether a law to *bind men without their own consent* be obligatory *in foro conscientiae*; because I find, *Scripture*, *Sanderſon*, and *Suarez*, are wholly ſilent on the matter. The oracle of *reaſon*, the great *law of nature*, and general opinion of *civilians* wherever they treat of *limited governments*, are indeed deciſive enough.

It is wonderful to obſerve the byaſs among our people in favour of *things perſons* and *wares* of all kinds, that come from *England*. The *printer* tells his *hawkers*, that *he has got an excellent new ſong juſt brought from London*. I have ſomewhat of a tendency that way myſelf; and upon hearing a *coxcomb* from thence diſplaying himſelf with great volubility upon the *park*, the *play-houſe*, the *opera*, the *gaming ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me a kind of veneration for his parts and accompliſhments. It is not many years, ſince I remember a *perſon*, who by his ſtyle and literature ſeems to have been the *corrector* of a hedge-preſs in ſome *blind-alley* about *Little-Britain*, proceed gradually to be an *author*, at leaſt a * *translator* of a lower rate, although ſomewhat of a larger bulk, than any that now *flouriſhes* in *Grub-ſtreet*; and upon the ſtrength of this foundation come over *here*, erect himſelf up into an *orator* and *politician*, and lead a *kingdom* after him. This, I am told, was the *very motive*, that prevailed on the † *author* of a play called, *Love in a hollow tree*, to do us the *honour* of a viſit; preſuming, with very good reaſon, *that he was a writer of a ſuperior claſs*. I know *another*, who for thirty years paſt hath been the *common ſtandard of ſtupidity in England*, where he was never heard a minute in any *aſſembly*, or by any *party*, with *common chriſtian treatment*; yet upon his arrival hither could put on a *face of importance and authority*, talk more than ſix, without either *gracefulneſs*, *propriety* or *meaning*; and at the ſame time be admired and followed as the pattern of *eloquence* and *wiſdom*.

* Suppoſed to be *Cæſar's Commentaries*, dedicated to the duke of *Marlborough*, by col. *Bladen*.

† L. *Grimſton*.

Nothing hath humbled me so much, or shewn a greater disposition to a *contemptuous* treatment of *Ireland* in some chief governors, than that high style of several speeches from the *throne*, delivered as usual after the *royal assent*, in *some periods* of the two last reigns. Such exaggerations of the prodigious *condescensions* in the prince to pass *those good laws* would have but an odd sound at *Westminster* : neither do I apprehend, how any *good law* can pass, wherein the *king's* interest is not as much concerned as that of the *people*. I remember, after a speech on the like occasion delivered by my lord * *Wharton*, (I think it was his last) he desired Mr. *Addison* to ask my opinion on it : my answer was, *That his excellency had very honestly forfeited his head on account of one paragraph ; wherein he asserted, by plain consequence, a dispensing power in the queen.* His lordship owned it was true, but swore the words were put into his mouth by direct orders from court. From whence it is clear, that some *ministers* in those times were apt from their *high* elevation to look down upon this kingdom, as if it had been one of their colonies of outcasts in *America*. And I observed a little of the same turn of spirit in *some great men*, from whom I expected better ; although, to do them justice, it proved no point of difficulty to make them correct their idea, whereof the *whole nation* quickly found the benefit.—But that is forgotten. How the style hath since run, I am wholly a stranger ; having never seen a speech since the last of the queen.

I would now expostulate a little with our country landlords ; who, by unmeasurable *screwing* and *racking* their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miserable *people* to a worse condition than the *peasants* in *France*, or the *vassals* in *Germany* and *Poland* ; so that the whole species of what we call *substantial farmers*, will in a very few years be utterly at an end. It was pleasant to observe these gentlemen, *labouring* with all their might for preventing the *bishops* from letting their revenues

* Lord lieutenant.

at a moderate half value (whereby * the whole *order* would in an age, have been reduced to manifest beggary) at the very instant, when they were every where *canting* † their own land upon short leases, and sacrificing their *oldest tenants* for a penny an acre advance. I know not how it comes to pass, (and yet perhaps I know well enough) that *slaves* have a natural disposition to be *tyrants*, and that when my *bettors* give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with six upon my *footman*; although perhaps he may be an honest and diligent fellow. I have heard great divines affirm, that *nothing is so likely to call down an universal judgment from heaven upon a nation, as universal oppression*; and whether this be not already verified in part, *their worship*s the landlords are now at full leisure to consider. Whoever travels this country, and observes the *face* of nature, or the *faces* and habits and dwellings of the *natives*, will hardly think himself in a land, where *law, religion, or common humanity* is professed.

I cannot forbear saying one word upon a *thing* they call a *bank*, which I hear is projecting in this town ‡. I never saw the *proposals*, nor understand any one particular of their scheme: what I wish for at present, is only a sufficient provision of *bemp*, and *caps* and *bells*, to distribute according to the several degrees of *honesty* and *prudence* in *some persons*. I *hear* only of a monstrous sum already named; and if OTHERS do not soon hear of it too, and hear with a *vengeance*, then am I a gentleman of less sagacity than myself and a very few besides take me to be. And the jest will be still the better, if it be true, as judicious persons have assured me, that one half is altogether imaginary. The matter will be likewise much mended, if the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our goldsmiths to melt down our heavy silver.

* Whereby, that is by preventing the bishops revenues from being let at half value. See this position explained and proved in the tract called *Arguments against enlarging the power of bishops*, vol. ix.

† *Canting* their land is letting it to the highest bidder—*cant* signifies the same as *auktion*.

‡ This project for a *bank* in *Ireland* was soon afterwards brought into parliament, and rejected.

**A
L E T T E R**

T O T H E

**Shopkeepers, Tradesmen, Farmers, and Com-
mon People of**

I R E L A N D,

**CONCERNING THE
B R A S S H A L F - P E N C E**

COINED BY ONE

WILLIAM WOOD, Hard-ware-man,

With a Design to have them pass in this Kingdom.

WHEREIN IS SHEWN

**The Power of his PATENT, the Value of his HALF-PENCE,
and how far every Person may be obliged to take the same in Payments,
and how to behave himself, in case such an Attempt should be made by
Wood, or any other Person.**

(Very proper to be kept in every FAMILY.)

By M. B. DRAPIER.

Written in the Year 1724.

About the year 1722, when *Charles* duke of *Grafton* was lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, one *William Wood*, an hard-ware-man and a bankrupt, alledging the great want of copper money in that kingdom, procured a patent for coining 108,000l. to pass there as current money. The *dean* believing this measure to be a vile job from the beginning to the end, and that the chief procurers of the patent were to be sharers in the profits which would arise from the ruin of a kingdom, assumed the character of a *Draper*, which for some reason he chose to write *Drapier*, and in the following LETTERS warned the people not to receive the coin which was then sent over.

By M. B. DRAPIER.

Written in the Year 1724.

LETTER I.
TO THE
Tradesmen, Shopkeepers, Farmers and Country
People in General
OF THE
KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-Subjects,

WHAT I intend now to say to you, is, next to your duty to God and the care of your salvation, of the greatest concern to your selves and your children; your *bread* and *clothing*, and every common necessary of life entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you as *men*, as *christians*, as *parents*, and as *lovers of your country*, to read this paper with the utmost attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the less expence, I have ordered the *printer* to sell it at the lowest rate.

It is a great fault among you, that, when a person writes with no other intention than *to do you good*, you will not be at the pains to read his *advices*. One copy of this paper may serve a dozen of you, which will be less than a farthing a-piece. It is your folly, that you have no common or general interest in your view, not even the wisest among you; neither do you know, or enquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies.

About

About four years ago a little book was written to advise all people to wear the *manufactures of this our own dear* * *country*. It had no other design, said nothing against the *king or parliament*, or any person whatsoever; yet the poor *printer* was prosecuted two years with the utmost violence, and even some *weavers* themselves (for whose sake it was written) being upon the JURY, *found him guilty*. This would be enough to discourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his face for his pains; and when he must expect only *danger to himself*, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest destruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought.

I will therefore first tell you the *plain story of the fact*; and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the *laws of your country*.

The *fact* is this: It having been many years since COPPER HALF-PENCE OR FARTHINGs were last coined in this kingdom, they have been for some time very scarce, and many *counterfeits* passed about under the name of *raps*: several applications were made to *England*, that we might have liberty to *coin new ones*, as in former times we did; but they did not succeed. At last one Mr. Wood, *a mean ordinary man, a hard-ware-dealer*, procured a *patent* under his *majesty's broad seal* to coin 108,000*l.* in *copper* for this kingdom; which patent, however, did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must know, that the *half pence* and *farthings* in *England* pass for very little more than they are worth: and, if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the *brazier*, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr. *Wood* made his *half-pence* of such *base metal*, and so much smaller than the *English* ones, that the *bra-*

* *A proposal for the use of Irish manufactures.*

zier would hardly give you above a *penny* of good money for a *shilling* of his ; so that this sum of 108,000*l.* in good gold and silver must be given for *trash*, that will not be worth above *eight* or *nine thousand pounds* real value. But this is not the worst ; for Mr. *Wood*, when he pleases, may by stealth send over another 108,000*l.* and *buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve* under the value. For example, if a *batter* sells a dozen of *bats* for *five shillings* a-piece, which amounts to *three pounds*, and receives the payment in *Wood's* coin, he really receives only the value of *five shillings*.

Perhaps, you will wonder how such an *ordinary fellow*, as this Mr. *Wood*, could have so much interest as to get his MAJESTY'S broad seal for so great a sum of bad money to be sent to this poor country ; and that all the *nobility* and *gentry* here could not obtain the same favour, and let us make our own *half-pence*, as we used to do. Now I will make that matter very plain : we are at a great distance from the king's *court*, and have no body there to solicit for us, although a great number of *lords* and *squires*, whose estates are here, and are our countrymen, spend all their *lives* and *fortunes* there : but this same Mr. *Wood* was able to attend constantly for his own interest ; he is an *Englishman*, and had great friends, and it seems knew very well *where to give money* to those, that would speak to others, that could speak to the king, and would tell a *fair story*. And *his majesty*, and perhaps the great lord, or lords who advised him, might think it was for our *country's good* ; and so, as the lawyers express it, the king was deceived in his grant, which often happens in all reigns. And I am sure if *his majesty* knew that such a patent, if it should take effect according to the desire of Mr. *Wood*, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which hath given such great proofs of its *loyalty*, he would immediately recall it, and perhaps shew his displeasure to *some body* or *other* : but a *word to the wife* is enough. Most of you must have heard with what anger our *honourable house of commons*

mons received an account of this *Wood's patent*. There were several *fine speeches* made upon it, and plain proofs, that it was all a *wicked cheat* from the *bottom* to the *top*; and several *smart votes* were printed, which that same *Wood* had the assurance to answer likewise in *print*; and in so confident a way, as if he were a *better man* than our *whole parliament* put together.

This *Wood*, as soon as his *patent* was passed, or soon after, sends over a great many *barrels of those half-pence* to *Cork*, and other sea-port *towns*, and to get them off offered an *hundred pounds* in his coin for *seventy* or *eighty* in silver: but the *collectors* of the *king's* customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost every body else. And since the parliament hath condemned them, and desired the *king* that they might be stopped, all the kingdom do abominate them.

But *Wood* is still working under-hand to force his *half-pence* upon us; and if he can, by the help of his friends in *England*, prevail so far as to get an order, that the *commissioners* and *collectors* of the *king's* money shall receive them, and that the *army* is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his work* shall be done. And this is the difficulty you will be under in such a case; for the common soldier, when he goes to the *market*, or *ale-house*, will offer this money; and, if it be refused, perhaps he will *swagger* and *bector*, and threaten to beat the *butcher*, or *ale-wife*, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad *half-pence*. In this, and the like cases, the *shopkeeper*, or *viçtualler*, or any other *tradesman*, has no more to do, than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in *Wood's* money; for example, twenty pence of that money for a *quart of ale*, and so in all things else, and not part with his goods till he gets the money.

For suppose you go to an *ale-house* with that base money, and the *landlord* gives you a quart for four of those *half-pence*, what must the *viçtualler* do? his *brewer* will not be paid in that coin, or if the *brewer* should be such a fool, the *farmers* will not take it

it from them for their * *bere*, because they are bound by their leases to pay their rents in good and lawful money of *England*, which this is not, nor of *Ireland* neither, and the 'squire, their landlord, will never be so bewitched to take such *trash* for his land; so that it must certainly stop somewhere or other, and wherever it stops, it is the same thing, and we are all undone.

The common weight of these *half-pence* is between four and five to an ounce; suppose five, then three shillings and four-pence will weigh a pound, and consequently twenty shillings will weigh six pounds *butter weight*. Now there are many hundred *farmers*, who pay two hundred pounds a year rent; therefore when one of these *farmers* comes with his half year's rent, which is one hundred pounds, it will be at least six hundred pound weight, which is three horses load.

If a 'squire has a mind to come to town to buy cloaths, and wine, and spices for himself and family, or perhaps to pass the winter here, he must bring with him five or six horses laden with *sacks*, as the farmers bring their corn; and, when his lady comes in her coach to our shops, it must be followed by a car loaded with Mr. *Wood*'s money. And I hope we shall have the grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They say 'squire *Conolly* † hath *sixteen* thousand pounds a year; now if he sends for his *rent* to town, as it is likely he doth, he must have two hundred and fifty *horses* to bring up his half-year's *rent*, and two or three great cellars in his house for stowage. But what the *bankers* will do, I cannot tell: for I am assured, that some great *bankers* keep by them forty thousand pounds in ready cash to answer all payments: which sum, in Mr. *Wood*'s money, would require twelve hundred horses to carry it.

For my own part, I am already resolved what to do: I have a pretty good shop of *Irish* stuffs and *silks*, and instead of taking

* A sort of barley in *Ireland*.

† Then speaker of the house of commons.

Mr. *Wood's* bad copper, I intend to truck with my neighbours the *butchers* and *bakers* and *brewers*, and the rest, *goods* for *goods*; and the little *gold* and *silver* I have, I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am just ready to starve, and then I will buy Mr. *Wood's* money, as my father did the brass money in king *James's* time, who could buy ten pounds of it with a *guinea*; and I hope to get as much for a *pistole*, and so purchase *bread* from those, who will be such fools as to sell it me.

These *half-pence*, if they once pass, will soon be counterfeited, because it may be cheaply done, the *stuff* is so base. The *Dutch* likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our *goods*; and Mr. *Wood* will never be at rest, but coin on; so that in some years we shall have at least five times 108,000*l.* of this *lumber*. Now the current money of this kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thousand pounds in all; and while there is a *silver* six-pence left, these *blood-suckers* will never be quiet.

When once the *kingdom* is reduced to such a condition, I will tell you what must be the end: the *gentlemen of estates* will all turn off their *tenants* for want of payments, because, as I told you before, the *tenants* are obliged by their leases to pay *sterling*, which is lawful current money of *England*: then they will turn their own *farmers*, as too many of them do already; run all into *sheep*, where they can, keeping only such other cattle as are necessary; then they will be their own *merchants*, and send their *wool*, and *butter*, and *hides*, and *linen* beyond sea for ready money, and *wine*, and *spices*, and *silks*. They will keep only a few miserable *cottagers*: the *farmers* must rob, or beg, or leave their country; the *shopkeepers* in this and every other town must break and starve; for it is the *landed man* that maintains the *merchant*, and *shopkeeper*, and *handicraftsman*.

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But when the *squire* turns *farmer* and *merchant* himself, all the good money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to send for *England*, and keep some poor *taylor* or *weaver* and the like in his own house, who will be glad to get bread at any rate.

I should never have done, if I were to tell you all the miseries that we shall undergo, if we be so *foolish* and *wicked* as to take this *curfed coin*. It would be very hard, if all *Ireland* should be put into *one scale*, and this sorry fellow *Wood* into the other; that Mr. *Wood* should weigh down this *whole kingdom*, by which *England* gets above a million of good money every year clear into their *pockets*: and that is more than the *English* do by *all the world* besides.

But your *great comfort* is, that as his majesty's *patent* doth not oblige you to take this *money*, so the *laws* have not given the *crown* a power of forcing the *subject* to take what *money* the *king* pleases; for then, by the same reason, we might be bound to take *pebble-stones*, or *cockle-shells*, or *stamped leather*, for *current coin*, if ever we should happen to live under an ill *prince*, who might likewise, by the same power, make a *guinea* pass for *ten pounds*, a *shilling* for *twenty shillings*, and so on; by which he would, in a short time, get all the *silver* and *gold* of the *kingdom* into his own hands, and leave us nothing but *brass* or *leather*, or what he pleased. Neither is any thing reckoned more *cruel* and *oppressive* in the *French* government, than their common practice of calling in all their money, after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it a-new at a much higher value; which, however, is not the thousandth part so *wicked* as this *abominable project* of Mr. *Wood*. For the *French* give their subjects *silver* for *silver*, and *gold* for *gold*; but this fellow will not so much as give us good *brass* or *copper* for our *gold* and *silver*, nor even a twelfth part of their worth.

Having said this much, I will now go on to tell you the judgment of some great *lawyers* in this matter; whom I see'd

on purpose for your sakes, and got their *opinions* under their *hands*, that I might be sure I went upon good grounds.

*A famous law-book, called the mirrour of justice, discoursing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our ancient kings, declares the law to be as follows: it was ordained, that no king of this realm should change or impair the money, or make any other money than of gold or silver, without the assent of all the counties; that is, as my lord Coke * says, without the assent of parliament.*

This book is very ancient, and of great authority for the time in which it was written, and with that character is often quoted by that great lawyer *my lord Coke †*. By the laws of *England* several metals are divided into *lawful* or *true metal*, and *unlawful* or *false metal*; the former comprehends *silver* or *gold*; the latter all *base metals*; that the former is only to pass in payments, appears by an act of *parliament †* made the twentieth year of *Edward the first*, called, *the statute concerning the passing of pence*; which I give you here as I got it translated into *English*; for some of our *laws* at that time were, as I am told, written in *latin*: *Whoever in buying or selling presumes to refuse an half-penny or farthing of lawful money, bearing the stamp which it ought to have, let him be seized on as a contemner of the king's majesty, and cast into prison.*

By this *statute*, no person is to be reckoned a *contemner* of the *king's majesty*, and for that crime to be *committed to prison*, but he who refuseth to accept the king's coin made of *lawful metal*; by which, as I observed before, *silver* and *gold* only are intended.

That this is the true *construction* of the *act*, appears not only from the plain meaning of the words, but from my lord *Coke's* || observation upon it. By this act (says he) it appears, that no

* 1 Inst. 576.
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† 2 Inst. 576. 7.

† 2 Inst. 577.

|| 2 Inst. 577.

subject can be forc'd to take in *buying*, or *selling*, or other *payment*, any money made but of *lawful metal*; that is, of *silver* or *gold*.

The law of *England* gives the king all mines of *gold* and *silver*; but not the mines of other *metals*; the reason of which *prerogative* or *power*, as it is given by my lord *Coke* †, is because money can be made of *gold* and *silver*, but not of other *metals*.

Pursuant to this opinion *half-pence* and *farthings* were anciently made of *silver*, which is evident from the act of *parliament* of *Henry* the fourth, chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: *Item, for the great scarcity that is at present within the realm of England of half-pence and farthings of silver, it is ordained and established, that the third part of all the money of silver plate which shall be brought to the bullion, shall be made into half-pence and farthings.* This shews, that by the words *half-penny* and *farthing* of lawful money in that *statute* concerning the *passing* of pence, is meant a small coin in *half-pence* and *farthings* of *silver*.

This is further manifest from the statute of the ninth year of *Edward* the third, chap. 3. which enacts, *that no sterling half-penny or farthing be molten for to make vessels, or any other thing by the goldsmiths, nor others, upon the forfeiture of the money so molten (or melted.)*

By another act in this king's reign, *black money* was not to be current in *England*. And, by an act made in the eleventh year of his reign, chap. 5. *galley half-pence* were not to pass; what kind of coin these were, I do not know; but I presume they were made of *base metal*. And these acts were no new *laws*, but further declarations of the old *laws* relating to the coin.

Thus the *law* stands in relation to *coin*. Nor is there any example to the contrary, except one in *Davis's reports*, who tells us, that, in the time of *Tyrone's* rebellion, queen *Elizabeth* or-

† 2 Inst. 577.

dered:

dered *money of mixed metal* to be coined in the Tower of *London*, and sent over hither for the payment of the *army*, obliging all people to receive it; and commanding that all *silver money* should be taken only as *bullion*; that is, for as much as it weigh'd. *Davis* tells us several particulars in this matter, too long here to trouble you with, and that the *privy council* of this kingdom obliged a *merchant* in *England* to receive this *mixt money* for goods transmitted hither.

But this proceeding is rejected by all the best lawyers, as contrary to law, the *privy council* here having no such legal power. And, besides, it is to be considered, that the *QUEEN* was then under great difficulties by a *rebellion* in this *kingdom* assisted from *Spain*; and whatever is done in great exigences and dangerous times, should never be an example to proceed by in seasons of *peace* and *quietness*.

I will now, my dear friends, to save you the trouble, set before you in short, what the *law* obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

First, you are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the *king*, and is of the *English* standard or weight, provided it be of *gold* or *silver*.

Secondly, you are not obliged to take any money which is not of *gold* or *silver*; not only the *half-pence* or *farthings* of *England*, but of any other country. And it is merely for convenience, or ease, that you are content to take them; because the custom of coining silver *half-pence* and *farthings* hath long been left off; I suppose on account of their being subject to be lost.

Thirdly, much less are we obliged to take those *vile half-pence* of that same *Wood*, by which you must lose almost eleven pence in every shilling.

Therefore, my friends, stand to it one and all: refuse this *filthy trash*. It is no treason to rebel against Mr. *Wood*. His *majesty*,

jesty, in his patent, obliges no body to take these *half-pence*: our gracious prince hath no such ill advisers about him; or, if he had, yet you see, the laws have not left it in the king's power to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right standard, gold and silver. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me in the next place apply myself particularly to you, who are the poorer sort of *tradesmen*. Perhaps you may think, you will not be so great losers as the rich, if these *half-pence* should pass; because you seldom see any silver, and your customers come to your shops or stalls with nothing but *brass*, which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry these *half-pence* to a shop for *tobacco*, or *brandy*, or any other thing that you want; the shopkeeper will advance his goods accordingly, or else he must break, and leave the key under the door. Do you think I will sell you a yard of ten-penny stuff for twenty of Mr. Wood's *half-pence*? No, not under two hundred at least; neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump. I will tell you one thing further, that if Mr. Wood's project should take, it would ruin even our *beggars*; for when I give a *beggar* a half-penny, it will quench his thirst, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a half-penny will do him no more service, than if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve.

In short, these *half-pence* are like the *accursed thing*, which, as the scripture tells us, the children of Israel were forbidden to touch. They will run about like the plague, and destroy every one who lays his hands upon them. I have heard scholars talk of a man who told the king, that he had invented a way to torment people by putting them into a bull of brass with fire under it: but the prince put the projector first into his brazen bull to make the experiment. This very much resembles the project of Mr. Wood; and the like of this may possibly be Mr. Wood's fate; that

that the *brass* he contrived to torment this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and his destruction at last.

N. B. The author of this paper is informed by persons, who have made it their business to be exact in their observations on the true value of these *half-pence*, that any person may expect to get a quart of *two-penny ale* for *thirty-six* of them.

I desire that all *families* may keep this paper carefully by them to refresh their memories, whenever they shall have farther notice of Mr. *Wood's* half-pence, or any other the like imposture.

LETTER

L E T T E R II.

A Letter to Mr. Harding the Printer,

UPON OCCASION OF

A Paragraph in his News-Paper of August the First, 1724, relating to Mr. Wood's Half-pence.

I N your news-letter of the first instant there is a paragraph, dated from *London July 25th* relating to *Wood's* half-pence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my *letter to the shopkeepers, etc.* that this vile fellow would never be at rest; and that the danger of our ruin approaches nearer; and therefore the kingdom requires *new and fresh warning*. However, I take this paragraph to be, in a great measure, an imposition upon the publick; at least I hope so, because I am informed that *Wood* is generally his own news-writer. I cannot but observe from that paragraph, that this publick enemy of ours, not satisfied to ruin us with his *trash*, takes every occasion to treat this kingdom with the utmost contempt. He represents *several of our merchants and traders upon examination before a committee of council agreeing, that there was the utmost necessity of copper money here, before his patent; so that several gentlemen have been forced to tally with their workmen, and give them bits of cards sealed and subscribed with their names.* What then? If a physician prescribe to a patient a *dram* of physick, shall a rascal-apothecary cram him with a *pound*, and mix it up with *poyson*? and is not a landlord's hand and seal to his own labourers a better security for five or ten shillings than *Wood's* brass, ten times below the real value, can be to the kingdom for an hundred and eight thousand pounds?

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But who are these *merchants and traders of Ireland* that made this report of *the utmost necessity we are under for copper money?* they are only a few betrayers of their country, confederates with *Wood*, from whom they are to purchase a great quantity of his coin, perhaps at half the price that we are to take it, and vend it among us to the ruin of the publick, and their own private advantages. Are not these excellent witnesses, upon whose integrity the fate of the kingdom must depend, evidences in their own cause, and sharers in this work of iniquity?

If we could have deserved the liberty of coining for ourselves, as we formerly did, and why we have it not, *is every body's wonder as well as mine*, ten thousand pounds might have been coined here in *Dublin* of only one fifth below the intrinick value, and this sum, with the stock of half-pence we then had, would have been sufficient: but *Wood* by his emissaries, enemies to God and this kingdom, hath taken care to buy up as many of our old half-pence as he could; and from thence the present want of change arises; to remove which by Mr. *Wood's* remedy, would be to cure a scratch on the finger by cutting off the arm. But supposing there were not one farthing of change in the whole nation, I will maintain, that five and twenty thousand pounds would be a sum fully sufficient to answer all our occasions. I am no inconsiderable shopkeeper in this town, I have discoursed with several of my own and other trades, with many gentlemen both of city and country, and also with great numbers of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, who all agree, that two shillings in change for every family would be more than necessary in all dealings. Now, by the largest computation (even before that grievous discouragement of *agriculture*, † which hath so much lessened our numbers) the souls in this kingdom are computed to be one million and a half; which, allowing six to a family, makes two hundred and fifty thousand families, and consequently two

† Perhaps the prohibition from ploughing, see page 2.

shillings to each family will amount only to five and twenty thousand pounds; whereas this *honest liberal hard-ware-man, Wood*, would impose upon us above *four times* that sum.

Your paragraph relates further, that *Sir Isaac Newton* reported an *assay* taken at the *Tower of Wood's* metal; by which it appears, that *Wood* had in all respects performed his contract. His contract! with whom? was it with the parliament or people of *Ireland*? are not they to be the purchasers? but they detest, abhor, and reject it as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with dirt and trash. Upon which he grows angry, goes to law, and will impose his goods upon us by force.

But your news-letter says, that an *assay* was made of the coin. How impudent and insupportable is this! *Wood* takes care to coin a dozen or two half-pence of good metal, sends them to the *Tower*, and they are approved, and these must answer all that he hath already coined, or shall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a gentleman often sends to my shop for a pattern of stuff; I cut it fairly off, and if he likes it, he comes, or sends, and compares the *pattern* with the whole piece, and probably we come to a bargain. But if I were to buy an hundred sheep, and the grazier should bring me one single wether fat and well fleec'd by way of *pattern*, and expect the same price round for the whole hundred, without suffering me to see them before he was paid, or giving me good security to restore my money for those that were *lean*, or *sporn*, or *scabby*, I would be none of his customer. I have heard of a man who had a mind to sell his house, and therefore carried a piece of *brick* in his pocket, which he shewed as a *pattern* to encourage purchasers; and this is directly the case in point with *Mr. Wood's* *assay*.

The next part of the paragraph contains *Mr. Wood's* voluntary proposals for preventing any further objections or apprehensions.

His first propofal is, *that whereas he hath already coined seventeen thousand pounds, and has copper prepared to make it up forty thousand pounds, he will be content to coin no more, unless the EXIGENCES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT, although his patent impowers him to coin a far greater quantity.*

To which if I were to answer, it should be thus: let Mr. Wood and his crew of *founders and tinkers* coin on, till there is not an old kettle left in the kingdom; let them coin old leather, tobacco-pipe-clay, or the dirt in the street, and call their trumpery by what name they please, from a guinea to a farthing; we are not under any concern to know how he and his tribe of accomplices think fit to employ themselves: but I hope, and trust, that we are all to a man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his ware.

The king has given him a patent to coin half-pence, but hath not obliged us to take them; and I have already shewn in my *letter to the shopkeepers, etc.* that the law hath not left it in the power of the *prerogative* to compel the subject to take any money, besides gold and silver of the right sterling and standard.

Wood further proposes, (if I understand him right, for his expressions are dubious) that *he will not coin above forty thousand pounds, unless the exigences of trade require it.* First, I observe that this sum of *forty thousand pounds* is almost double to what I proved to be sufficient for the whole kingdom, although we had not one of our old half-pence left. Again, I ask, who is to be judge, when the *exigences of trade require it*? Without doubt he means *himself*; for as to us of this poor kingdom, who must be utterly ruined if this project should succeed, we were never *once* consulted till the matter was over, and he will judge of our *exigences* by his own; neither will these be ever at an end, till he and his accomplices shall think they have enough: and it now appears that he will not be content with all our gold and silver, but

but intends to buy up our goods and manufactures with the same coin.

I shall not enter into examination of the prices, for which he now proposes to sell his half-pence, or what he calls his copper, by the pound; I have said enough of it in my former letter, and it hath likewise been considered by others. It is certain, that by his own first computation we were to pay three shillings for what was intrinsically worth but one, although it had been of the true weight and standard for which he pretended to have contracted; but there is so great a difference both in weight and badness in several of his coins, that some of them have been nine in ten below the intrinsic value, and most of them six or seven.

His last proposal being of a peculiar strain and nature, deserves to be very particularly considered both on account of the matter and the style. It is as follows:

Lastly, In consideration of the direful apprehensions which prevail in Ireland, that Mr. Wood will by such coinage drain them of their gold and silver; he proposes to take their manufactures in exchange, and that no person be obliged to receive more than five-pence half-penny at one payment.

First, observe this little impudent *hard-ware-man* turning into ridicule *the direful apprehensions of a whole kingdom*, priding himself as the cause of them, and daring to prescribe (what no king of *England* ever attempted) how far a whole nation shall be obliged to take his brass coin. And he has reason to insult: for sure there was never an example in history of a great kingdom kept in awe for above a year, in daily dread of utter destruction, not by a powerful invader at the head of twenty thousand men, not by a plague or a famine, not by a tyrannical prince (for we never had one more gracious) or a corrupt administration, but by one single, diminutive, insignificant mechanick.

But to go on: to remove our *direful apprehensions*, *that he will drain us of our gold and silver by his coinage*, this little arbitrary

bitrary *mock-monarch* most graciously offers to *take our manufactures in exchange*. Are our *Irish* understandings indeed so low in his opinion? Is not this the very misery we complain of; that his cursed project will put us under the necessity of selling our goods for what is equal to *nothing*? How would such a proposal sound from *France* or *Spain*, or any other country with which we traffick, if they should offer to deal with us only upon this condition, that we should take their money at ten times higher than the intrinsic value? Does Mr. *Wood* think, for instance, that we will sell him a stone of wool for a parcel of his *counters* not worth *six-pence*, when we can send it to *England*, and receive as many shillings in gold and silver? Surely there was never heard such a compound of impudence, villainy, and folly.

His proposals conclude with perfect *high-treason*. He promises, that *no person shall be obliged to receive more than five-pence half-penny of his coin in one payment*. By which it is plain, that he pretends to *oblige* every subject in this kingdom to take so much in every payment, if it be offered; whereas his patent *obliges* no man, nor can the prerogative by law claim such a power, as I have often observed; so that here Mr. *Wood* takes upon him the *entire legislature*, and an absolute dominion over the properties of the whole nation.

Good God! who are this wretch's *advisers*? who are his *supporters*, *abettors*, *encouragers*, or *sharers*? Mr. *Wood* will *oblige* me to take five-pence half-penny of his brass in every payment. And I will shoot Mr. *Wood* and his deputies through the head like *highwaymen* or *house-breakers*, if they dare to force one farthing of their coin on me in the payment of an hundred pounds. It is no loss of honour to submit to the *lion*; but who, with the figure of a *man*, can think with patience of being devoured alive by a *rat*? He has laid a tax upon the people of *Ireland* of seventeen shillings at least in the pound: a tax, I say, not only upon lands, but interest-money, goods, manufactures, the hire of handicraftsmen,

dicraftsmen, labourers, and fervants. Shopkeepers, look to yourselves! *Wood* will oblige and force you to take five-pence half-penny of his trash in every payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty payments in one day, or else you can hardly find bread: and pray consider how much that will amount to in a year; twenty times five-pence half-penny is nine shillings and two-pence, which is above an hundred and sixty pounds a year, wherein you will be losers of at least one hundred and forty pounds by taking your payments in his money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr. *Wood* on such conditions, they may; but for my own particular, *let his money perish with him*. If the famous Mr. *Hambden* rather chose to go to prison, than pay a few shillings to king *Charles I.* without authority of parliament; I will rather chuse to be *hanged* than have all my substance taxed at seventeen shillings in the pound at the arbitrary will and pleasure of the venerable Mr. *Wood*.

The paragraph concludes thus: N. B. (that is to say, *nota bene*, or *mark well*) *No evidence appeared from Ireland, or elsewhere, to prove the mischiefs complained of, or any abuses whatsoever committed in the execution of the said grant.*

The impudence of this remark exceeds all that went before. First, the house of commons in *Ireland*, which represents the whole people of the kingdom; and secondly, the privy-council addressed his majesty against these half-pence: what could be done more to express the universal sense of the nation? If his copper were diamonds, and the kingdom were entirely against it, would not that be sufficient to reject it? Must a committee of the whole house of commons, and our whole privy-council, go over to argue *pro* and *con* with Mr. *Wood*? To what end did the king give his patent for coining half-pence in *Ireland*? was it not, because it was represented to his sacred majesty, that such a coinage would be of advantage to the good of this kingdom, and of all his subjects here? It is to the patentee's peril, if his
repre-

representation be false, and the execution of his patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he so wicked and foolish to think, that his patent was given him to ruin a million and a half of people, that he might be a gainer of three or fourscore thousand pounds to himself? Before he was at the charge of passing a patent, much more of raking up so much filthy dross, and stamping it with his majesty's *image and superscription*, should he not first in common sense, in common equity, and common manners have consulted the principal party concerned; that is to say, the people of the kingdom, the house of lords, or commons, or the privy-council? If any foreigner should ask us, *whose image and superscription there is on Wood's coin?* we should be ashamed to tell him, it was *Cæsar's*. In that great want of copper half-pence which he alledges we were, our city set up *our Cæsar's* † statue in excellent copper at an expence, that is equal in value to thirty thousand pound of his coin; and we will not receive his image in worse metal.

I observe many of our people putting a melancholy case on this subject. It is true, say they, we are all undone if *Wood's* half-pence must pass; but what shall we do, if his majesty puts out a *proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath often been dinned in my ears. But I desire my countrymen to be assured that there is nothing in it. The king never issues out a *proclamation* but to enjoin what the law permits him. He will not issue out a *proclamation* against *law*; or if such a thing should happen by a mistake, we are no more obliged to obey it than to run our heads into the fire. Besides, his majesty will never command us by a *proclamation*, what he does not offer to command us in the *patent* itself. There he leaves it to our discretion; so that our destruction must be entirely owing to ourselves. Therefore let no man be afraid of a *proclamation*, which will never be granted; and if it should, yet upon this occasion will be of no

† An equestrian statue of George I. at *Essex-bridge*, *Dublin*.

force.

force. The king's revenues here are near four hundred thousand pounds a year. Can you think his ministers will advise him to take them in *Wood's* brags, which will reduce the value to fifty thousand pounds? *England* gets a million *sterling* by this nation; which, if this project goes on, will be almost reduced to nothing: and do you think those, who live in *England* upon *Irish* estates, will be content to take an eighth or tenth part by being paid in *Wood's* dross?

If *Wood* and his *confederates* were not convinced of our stupidity, they never would have attempted so audacious an enterprise. He now sees a spirit hath been raised against him, and he only watches till it begins to flag: he goes about *watching* when to *devour* us. He hopes we shall be weary of contending with him; and at last out of ignorance or fear, or of being perfectly tired with opposition, we shall be forced to yield: and therefore, I confess, it is my chief endeavour to keep up your spirits and resentments. If I tell you there is a precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your necks; if I point to it before your eyes, must I be at the trouble of repeating it every morning? Are our people's *hearts waxed gross*? are *their ears dull of hearing*? and have *they closed their eyes*? I fear there are some few *vipers* among us, who for ten or twenty pounds gain would sell their souls and their country; although at last it should end in their own ruin, as well as ours. Be not like *the deaf adder, who refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely*.

Although my letter be directed to you, Mr. *Harding*, yet I intend it for all my countrymen. I have no interest in this affair, but what is common to the publick: I can live better than many others: I have some gold and silver by me, and a shop well furnished; and shall be able to make a shift, when many of my betters are starving. But I am grieved to see the coldness and in-

difference of many people, with whom I discourse. Some are afraid of a *proclamation*; others shrug up their shoulders, and cry, What would you have us to do? Some give out, there is no danger at all: others are comforted, that it will be a common calamity, and they shall fare no worse than their neighbours. Will a man, who hears midnight robbers at his door, get out of bed and raise his family for a common defence; and shall a whole kingdom lie in a lethargy, while Mr. *Wood* comes at the head of his *confederates* to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our posterity, for ever? If a highwayman meets you on the road, you give him your money to save your life; but God be thanked, Mr. *Wood* cannot touch a hair of your heads. You have all the laws of God and man on your side: when he or his accomplices offer you his dross, it is but saying *no*, and you are safe. If a mad man should come into my shop with a handful of dirt raked out of the kennel, and offer it in payment for ten yards of stuff, I would pity, or laugh at him; or, if his behaviour deserved it, kick him out of my doors. And if Mr. *Wood* comes to demand my gold and silver, or commodities for which I have paid my gold and silver, in exchange for his trash, can he deserve or expect better treatment?

When the *evil day* is come (if it must come) let us mark and observe those, who presume to offer these half-pence in payment. Let their names and trades, and places of abode, be made publick, that every one may be aware of them, as betrayers of their country, and confederates with Mr. *Wood*. Let them be watched at markets and fairs; and let the first honest discoverer give the word about, that Mr. *Wood*'s half-pence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent people not to receive them.

Perhaps I have been too tedious; but there would never be an end, if I attempted to say all that this melancholy subject will bear. I will conclude with humbly offering one proposal; which,
if

if it were put into practice, would blow up this destructive project at once. Let some skilful, judicious pen draw up an *advertisement* to the following purpose :

Whereas one William Wood, hard-ware-man, now or lately sojourning in the city of London, hath, by many misrepresentations, procured a patent for coining an hundred and eight thousand pounds in copper half-pence for this kingdom ; which is a sum five times greater than our occasions require : And whereas it is notorious, that the said Wood hath coined his half-pence of such base metal, and false weight, that they are at least six parts in seven below the real value : And whereas we have reason to apprehend, that the said Wood may at any time hereafter clandestinely coin as many more half-pence as he pleases : And whereas the said patent neither doth, nor can oblige his majesty's subjects to receive the said half-pence in any payment, but leaves it to their voluntary choice ; because by law the subject cannot be obliged to take any money, except gold or silver : And whereas, contrary to the letter and meaning of the said patent, the said Wood hath declared, that every person shall be obliged to take five-pence half-penny of his coin in every payment : And whereas the house of commons, and privy-council, have severally addressed his most sacred majesty, representing the ill consequences which the said coinage may have upon this kingdom : And, lastly, whereas it is universally agreed, that the whole nation to a man (except Mr. Wood, and his confederates) are in the utmost apprehensions of the ruinous consequences that must follow from the said coinage ; Therefore we, whose names are underwritten, being persons of considerable estates in this kingdom, and residents therein, do unanimously resolve and declare, that we will never receive one farthing or half-penny of the said Wood's coining ; and that we will direct all our tenants to refuse the said coin from any person whatsoever ; of which that they may not be ignorant, we have sent them a copy of this advertisement to be read to them by our stewards, receivers, etc.

I could wish, that a paper of this nature might be drawn up, and signed by two or three hundred principal gentlemen of this kingdom; and printed copies thereof sent to their several tenants. I am deceived if any thing could sooner defeat this execrable design of *Wood*, and his *accomplices*. This would immediately give the alarm, and set the kingdom on their guard; this would give courage to the meanest tenant and cottager. *How long, O Lord, righteous and true, etc.*

I must tell you in particular, Mr. *Harding*, that you are much to blame. Several hundred persons have enquired at your house for my *Letter to the shopkeepers, etc.* and you had none to sell them. Pray keep yourself provided with that Letter, and with this: you have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your sake, any more than I do now. Pray advertise both in every news-paper; and let it not be your fault or mine, if our countrymen will not take warning. I desire you likewise to sell them as cheap as you can.

I am your servant,

M. B.

Aug. 4, 1724.

LETTER

L E T T E R III.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

UPON A PAPER, CALLED

The Report of the Committee

OF THE

Most Honourable the Privy-Council in England,

Relating to WOOD'S Half-pence.

TO THE

NOBILITY and GENTRY of the Kingdom of IRELAND.

HAVING already written *two letters* to the people of my own level and condition, and having now very pressing occasion for writing a *third*; I thought I could not more properly address it than to your *lordships* and *worships*.

The occasion is this: a printed paper was sent to me on the 18th instant, entitled, *A report of the committee of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy-council in England relating to Mr. Wood's half-pence and farthings*. There is no mention made where the paper was printed; but I suppose it to have been in *Dublin*: and I have been told, that the copy did not come over in the *Gazette*, but in the *London journal*, or some other print of no authority or consequence. And, for any thing that legally appears

appears to the contrary, it may be a contrivance to fright us; or a *project* of some printer, who hath a mind to make a penny by publishing something upon a subject, which now employs all our thoughts in this kingdom. Mr. Wood in publishing this paper would insinuate to the world, as if the committee had a greater concern for his credit and private emolument, than for the honour of the *privy-council*, and both *houses of parliament* here, and for the quiet and welfare of this whole kingdom; for it seems intended a vindication of Mr. Wood, not without several severe reflections on the houses of *lords* and *commons* of Ireland.

The whole is indeed written with the turn and air of a pamphlet; as if it were a dispute between William Wood on the one part, and the *lords justices*, *privy-council*, and both *houses of parliament* on the other; the design of it being to clear William Wood, and to charge the other side with casting rash and groundless aspersions upon him.

But if it be really what the title imports, Mr. Wood hath treated the committee with great rudeness by publishing an act of theirs in so unbecoming a manner without their leave, and before it was communicated to the government and *privy-council* of Ireland, to whom the committee advised that it should be transmitted. But, with all deference be it spoken, I do not conceive that a report of a committee of the council in England is hitherto a law in either kingdom; and until any point is determined to be a law, it remains disputable by every subject.

This (may it please your *lordships* and *worships*) may seem a strange way of discoursing in an *illiterate shopkeeper*. I have endeavoured (although without the help of books) to improve that small portion of reason God hath been pleased to give me; and when reason plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my head from it. Thus, for instance, if any lawyer should tell me that such a point were law, from which many gross palpable absurdities

furdities must follow; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir *Edward Coke* should positively assert, (which he no where does, but the direct contrary) that a *limited prince* could by his *prerogative* oblige his subjects to take half an ounce of lead stamped with his image for twenty shillings in gold, I should swear he was *deceived*, or a *deceiver*; because a power like that would leave the whole lives and fortunes of the people entirely at the mercy of the monarch; yet this in effect is what *Wood* hath advanced in some of his papers; and what suspicious people may possibly apprehend from some passages in that, which is called the *report*.

That paper mentions *such persons to have been examined, who were desirous and willing to be heard upon this subject*. I am told they were four in all; *Coleby, B----*, Mr. *Finley* the banker, and one more, whose name I know not. The first of these was tried for robbing the treasury in *Ireland*: and though he was acquitted for want of legal proof, yet every person in the court believed him to be guilty.

But, since I have gone so far as to mention particular persons, it may be some satisfaction to know who is this *Wood* himself, that has the honour to have a whole kingdom at his mercy for almost two years together. I find he is in the patent entitled *esquire*, although he were understood to be only a *hard-ware-man*; and so I have been bold to call him in my former letters; however, a *'squire* he is, not only by virtue of his patent, but by having been a collector in *Shropshire*; where pretending to have been robbed, and suing the county, he was cast, and for the infamy of the fact lost his employment.

I have heard another story of this *'squire Wood* from a very honourable lady, that one *Hamilton* told her. *Hamilton* was sent for six years ago by Sir *Isaac Newton* to try the coinage of four men, who then solicited a patent for coining half-pence for *Ireland*; their names were *Wood, Costor, Elliston, and Parker*.

Parker

Parker made the fairest offer, and *Wood* the worst; for his coin were three half-pence in a pound weight less value than the other. By which it is plain, with what intentions he solicited his patent; but not so plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged in the said paper called the *report*, that upon repeated orders from a secretary of state for sending over such papers and witnesses, as should be thought proper to support the objections made against the patent, (by both houses of parliament;) the lord lieutenant represented the great difficulty he found himself in, to comply with these orders: that none of the principal members of both houses who were in the king's service, or council, would take upon them to advise, how any material person, or papers, might be sent over on this occasion, etc. And this is often repeated, and represented as a proceeding that seems very extraordinary, and that in a matter, which had raised so great a clamour in Ireland, no one person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland in support of the united sense of both houses of parliament in Ireland; especially that the chief difficulty should arise from a general apprehension of a miscarriage, in an enquiry before his majesty, or in a proceeding by due course of law, in a case where both houses of parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon evidence, and examinations taken in the most solemn manner.

How shall I, a poor ignorant shopkeeper, utterly unskilled in law, be able to answer so weighty an objection? I will try what can be done by plain reason, unassisted by art, cunning, or eloquence.

In my humble opinion the committee of council hath already prejudged the whole case, by calling the united sense of both houses of parliament in Ireland an *universal clamour*. Here the addresses of the lords and commons of Ireland against a ruinous, destructive project of an *obscure, single undertaker*, is called a *clamour*. I desire to know, how such a style would be represented

ed in *England* from a committee of council there to a parliament; and how many *impeachments* would follow upon it? But supposing the appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wise minister, who despised the *universal clamour* of a people; and if that *clamour* can be quieted by disappointing the fraudulent practice of a single person, the purchase is not exorbitant.

But in answer to this objection: first it is manifest, that if this coinage had been in *Ireland*, with such limitations as have been formerly specified in other patents, and granted to persons of this kingdom, or even of *England*, able to give sufficient security, few or no inconveniencies could have happened. As to Mr. *Knox's* patent mentioned in the *report*, security was given into the *Exchequer*, that the *patentee* should upon all demands be obliged to receive his *half-pence* back, and pay gold or silver in exchange for them. And Mr. *Moor* (to whom I suppose that patent was made over) was in 1694 forced to leave off coining before the end of that year by the great crouds of people continually offering to return his coinage upon him. In 1698 he coined again, and was forced to give over for the same reason. This entirely alters the case; for there is no such condition in *Wood's* patent; which condition was worth a hundred times all other limitations whatsoever.

Put the case, that the two houses of *lords* and *commons* of *England*, and the *privy-council* there, should address his majesty to recall a *patent*, from whence they apprehended the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom; and, to make it stronger if possible, that the whole nation almost to a man should thereupon discover the *most dismal apprehensions* (as Mr. *Wood* styles them;) would his majesty debate half an hour what he had to do? would any minister dare advise him against recalling such a patent? or would the matter be referred to the *privy-council*, or to *Westminster-hall*; the two houses of *parliament* plaintiffs, and

William Wood defendant? and is there even the smallest difference between the two cases?

Were not the people of *Ireland* born as *free* as those of *England*? how have they forfeited their freedom? is not their *parliament* as fair a *representative* of the *people* as that of *England*? and hath not their privy-council as great, or a greater share in the administration of publick affairs? are not they subjects of the same king? does not the same *sun* shine upon them? and have they not the same God for their protector? am I a *freeman* in *England*, and do I become a *slave* in six hours by crossing the channel? No wonder then if the boldest persons were cautious to interpose in a matter already determined by the whole voice of the nation; or to presume to represent the representatives of the kingdom; and were justly apprehensive of meeting such a treatment as they would deserve at the next session. It would seem very extraordinary, if an inferiour court in *England* should take a matter out of the hands of the high court of parliament during a prorogation, and decide it against the opinion of both houses.

It happens however, that although no persons were so bold as to go over as evidences to prove the truth of the objections made against this *patent* by the *high court of parliament* here, yet these objections stand good, notwithstanding the answers made by Mr. *Wood* and his council.

The report says, that, upon an assay made of the fineness, weight, and value of this copper, it exceeded in every article. This is possible enough in the pieces upon which the assay was made; but *Wood* must have failed very much in point of dexterity, if he had not taken care to provide a sufficient quantity of such *half-pence* as would bear the trial; which he was well able to do, although they were taken out of several parcels; since it is now plain, that the bias of favour hath been wholly on his side.

But what need is there of disputing, when we have a positive demon-

demonstration of *Wood's* fraudulent practices in this point. I have seen a large quantity of these *half-pence* weighed by a very skilful person, which were of four different kinds, three of them considerably under weight. I have now before me an exact computation of the difference of weight between these four sorts; by which it appears, that the fourth sort, or the lightest, differs from the first to a degree, that in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper the *patentee* will be a gainer, only by that difference, of twenty-four thousand four hundred and ninety-four pounds; and in the whole the publick will be a loser of eighty-two thousand one hundred and sixty-eight pounds sixteen shillings, even supposing the metal in point of goodness to answer *Wood's* contract, and the *assay* that hath been made, which it infallibly doth not. For this point hath likewise been enquired into by very experienced men; who, upon several trials on many of these *half-pence*, have found them to be at least one fourth part below the real value, not including the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he, or his *accomplices*, have already made of *his own coin*, and scattered about. Now the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, coined by the weight of the fourth or lightest sort of his *half-pence*, will amount to one hundred twenty-two thousand four hundred eighty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings; and, if we subtract a fourth part of the real value by the *base mixture* in the metal, we must add to the publick loss one fourth part to be subtracted from the intrinsic value of the copper; which in three hundred and sixty tons amounts to ten thousand and eighty pounds; and this, added to the former sum of eighty-two thousand one hundred sixty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, will make in all ninety-two thousand two hundred forty-eight pounds loss to the publick; besides the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he may at any time hereafter think fit to coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the *drofs* exclusive or inclusive with his three

hundred and fixty tons of copper; which however will make a considerable difference in the account.

You will here please to observe, that the profit allowed to *Wood* by the patent is twelve pence out of every pound of copper valued at 1 s. 6 d. whereas 5 d. only is allowed for coinage of a pound weight for the *English half-pence*; and this difference is almost 25 *per cent.* which is double to the highest exchange of money, even under all the additional pressures and obstructions to trade that this unhappy kingdom lies at present. This one circumstance, in the coinage of three hundred and fixty tons of copper, makes a difference of twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty pounds between *English* and *Irish half-pence*, even allowing those of *Wood* to be all of the heaviest sort.

It is likewise to be considered, that for every *half-penny* in a pound weight, exceeding the number directed by the patent, *Wood* will be a gainer in the coinage of three hundred and fixty tons of copper, sixteen hundred and eighty pounds profit more than the patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his *comptrollers easy* upon that article.

As to what is alledged, that *these half-pence far exceed the like coinage for Ireland in the reigns of his majesty's predecessors*: there cannot well be a more exceptionable way of arguing, although the fact were true; which however is altogether mistaken, not by any fault in the *committee*, but by the fraud and imposition of *Wood*, who certainly produced the worst patterns he could find; such as were coined in small numbers by *permissions to private men*, as *butchers half-pence*, *black-dogs*, and others the like; or perhaps the small *St. Patrick's* coin, which passeth now for a farthing, or at best some of the smallest *raps* of the latest kind. For I have now by me *half-pence* coined in the year 1680 by virtue of the patent granted to my lord *Dartmouth*, which was renewed to *Knox*, and they are heavier by a ninth part than those

those of *Wood*, and of much better metal ; and the great St. *Patrick's half-pence* are yet larger than either.

But what is all this to the present debate : if, under the various exigencies of former times by wars rebellions and insurrections, the kings of *England* were sometimes forced to pay their armies here with mixt or base money ; God forbid that the necessities of turbulent times should be a precedent for times of peace, and order, and settlement.

In the *patent* abovementioned, granted to lord *Dartmouth* in the reign of king *Charles* the second and renewed to *Knox*, the securities given into the *Exchequer*, obliging the *patentee* to receive his money back upon every demand, were an effectual remedy against all inconveniencies : and the *copper was coined in our kingdom* ; so that we were in no danger to purchase it with the loss of all our silver and gold carried over to another, nor to be at the trouble of going to *England* for the redressing any abuse.

That the kings of *England* have exercised their prerogative of coining copper for *Ireland* and for *England*, is not the present question : but, to speak in the style of the *report*, it would seem a little extraordinary, supposing a king should think fit to exercise his prerogative by coining copper in *Ireland* to be current in *England*, without referring it to his officers in that kingdom to be informed, whether the grant were reasonable and whether the people desired it or no, and without regard to the addresses of his parliament against it. God forbid, that so mean a man as I should meddle with the king's prerogative : but I have heard very wise men say, that the king's prerogative is bounded and limited by the good and welfare of his people. I desire to know, whether it be not understood and avowed, that the good of *Ireland* was intended by this *patent* ? But *Ireland* is not consulted at all in the matter ; and, as soon as *Ireland* is informed of it, they declared against it : the two houses of parliament and the privy-council address his majesty upon the mischiefs apprehended by such a *patent* ;

tent; the *privy-council* in *England* take the matter out of the *parliament's* cognizance; the good of the kingdom is dropt; and it is now determined, that Mr. *Wood* shall have the power of ruining a whole nation for his private advantage.

I never can suppose, that such *patents* as these were originally granted with a view of being a *jobb* for the interest of a particular person to the damage of the publick. Whatever profit must arise to the *patentee*, was surely meant at best but as a secondary motive; and since somebody must be a gainer, the choice of the person was made either by favour or *something else*, or by the pretence of merit and honesty: this argument returns so often and strongly into my head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his majesty, when he consented to the passing of this *patent*, conceived he was doing an act of grace to his most loyal subjects of *Ireland*, without any regard to Mr. *Wood*, farther than as an *instrument*: but the people of *Ireland* think this *patent* (intended, no doubt, for their good) to be a most intolerable grievance; and therefore Mr. *Wood* can never succeed without an open avowal, that his profit is preferred, not only before the *interest*, but the very *safety* and *being* of a great kingdom; and a kingdom distinguished for its loyalty perhaps above all others upon earth; not turned from its duty by the *jurisdiction* of the *house of lords* abolished at a stroke, by the *hardships* of the *act* of *navigation* newly enforced, by all possible *obstructions* in trade, and by a hundred other instances, enough to fill this paper; nor was there ever among us the least attempt towards an insurrection in favour of the *pretender*. Therefore, whatever justice a *free people* can claim, we have at least an *equal* title to it with our brethren in *England*; and whatever grace a good prince can bestow on the most *loyal subjects*, we have reason to expect; neither has this kingdom any way deserved to be sacrificed to one *single, rapacious, obscure, ignominious* projector.

Among other clauses mentioned in this *patent* to shew how
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advantageous it is to *Ireland*, there is one which seems to be of a *singular nature*: that the *patentee* shall be obliged during his term to pay eight hundred pounds a year to the crown, and two hundred pounds a year to the comptroller. I have heard indeed, that the king's council do always consider in the passing of a *patent*, whether it will be of advantage to the crown; but I have likewise heard, that it is at the same time considered, whether passing of it may be injurious to any other persons or bodies politick? However, although the *attorney* and *solicitor* be servants to the king, and therefore bound to consult his majesty's interest; yet I am under some doubt, whether eight hundred pounds a year to the crown would be equivalent to the ruin of a kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid eight thousand pounds a year into his majesty's coffers in the midst of all our taxes (which in proportion are greater in this kingdom than ever they were in *England*, even during the war) than purchase such an addition to the revenue at the price of our utter undoing.

But here it is plain, that fourteen thousand pounds are to be paid by *Wood* only as a *small, circumstantial* charge for the purchase of his *patent*: what were his other *visible costs* I know not, and what were his *latent*, is variously conjectured; but he must be surely a man of some wonderful merit. Hath he saved any other kingdom at his own expence, to give him a title of reimbursing himself by the *destruction* of ours? Hath he discovered the *longitude*, or the *universal medicine*? No; but he hath found the *philosopher's stone* after a new manner, by *debasing* of copper, and resolving to force it upon us for gold.

When the two houses represented to his majesty, that this *patent* to *Wood* was obtained in a clandestine manner, surely the committee could not think the parliament would insinuate, that it had not passed in the common forms, and run through every office where fees and perquisites were due. They knew very well, that persons in places were no enemies to grants; and that the officers

officers of the crown could not be kept in the dark. But the late * *lord lieutenant of Ireland* affirmed, it was a *secret* to him; and who will doubt of his *veracity*, especially when he swore to a person of quality, from whom I had it, that *Ireland* should never be troubled with these *half-pence*. It was a *secret* to the people of *Ireland*, who were to be the *only sufferers*; and those who best know the state of the kingdom, and were most able to advise in such an affair, were wholly strangers to it.

It is allowed by the *report*, that this *patent* was passed without the knowledge of the chief governor, or officers of *Ireland*: and it is there elaborately shewn, that *former patents have passed in the same manner*, and are *good in law*. I shall not dispute the legality of *patents*, but am ready to suppose it in his majesty's power to grant a *patent* for stamping round bits of copper to every subject he hath. Therefore, to lay aside the point of law, I would only put the question, whether in *reason* and *justice* it would not have been proper in an affair, upon which the *welfare of the kingdom depends*, that the said kingdom should have received timely notice; and the matter not be carried on between the *patentee* and the *officers of the crown*, who were to be the only gainers by it.

The *parliament*, who in matters of this nature are the most able and faithful counsellors, did represent this grant to be *destructive of trade, and dangerous to the properties of the people*: to which the only answer is, that *the king hath a prerogative to make such a grant*.

It is asserted, that in the patent to *Knox* his *half-pence* are *made and declared the current coin of the kingdom*; whereas, in this to *Wood* there is only a *power given to issue them to such as will receive them*. The authors of the *report*, I think, do not affirm, that the king can, by *law*, declare *any thing* to be current money by his letters patents. I dare say they will not affirm it;

* Duke of Grafton.

and

and if *Knox's* patent contained in it powers contrary to law, why is it mentioned as a precedent in his majesty's *just and merciful reign*? But although that clause be not in *Wood's* patent, yet possibly there are others, the legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that, whereby *a power is given to William Wood to break into houses in search of any coin made in imitation of his*. This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the liberty of the subject; yet this is a *precedent* taken from *Knox's* patent, where the same power is granted; and is a strong instance, what uses may be sometimes made of *precedents*.

But although, before the passing of this patent, it was not thought necessary to consult any persons of this kingdom, or make the least enquiry, whether copper money were wanting among us; yet now at length, when the matter is over, when the patent hath long passed, when *Wood* hath already coined seventeen thousand pounds, and hath his tools and implements prepared to coin *six times* as much more, the committee hath been pleased to make this affair the subject of enquiry; *Wood* is permitted to produce his evidences, which consist, as I have already observed, of four in number, whereof *Coleby*, *B---*, and *Mr. Finley* the banker are three. And these were to prove, that copper money was extremely wanted in *Ireland*. The first had been out of the kingdom almost twenty years, from the time that he was tried for *robbing the treasury*; and therefore his *knowledge* and *credibility* are equal. *Mr. Finley*, one of the other witnesses, honestly confessed, that he was ignorant whether *Ireland* wanted copper money or no; but his whole intention was to buy a certain quantity from *Wood* at a *large discount*, and sell them as well as he could; by which he hoped to get two or three thousand pounds for himself.

But suppose there were not one single half-penny of copper coin in this whole kingdom; (which *Mr. Wood* seems to intend, un-

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less we come to his terms, as appears by employing his emissaries to buy up our old ones at a penny in the shilling more than they pass for) it could not be any *real evil* to us, although it might be some *inconvenience*. We have many sorts of small silver coins, to which they are strangers in *England*; such as the *French three-pences, four-pence half-pennies, and eight-pence farthings, the Scotch five-pences and ten-pences*, besides their *twenty-pences and three and four-pences*, by which we are able to make change to a half-penny of almost any piece of gold or silver; and if we are driven to the expedient of a *sealed card* with the little gold and silver still remaining, it will, I suppose, be somewhat better than to have nothing left but *Wood's* adulterated copper, which he is neither *obliged* by his *patent*, nor hitherto *able* by his *estate*, to make good.

The *report* farther tells us, it *must be admitted*, that letters patents, under the great seal of Great Britain, for coining copper-money for Ireland are legal and obligatory, a just and reasonable exercise of his majesty's royal prerogative, and in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberty or privilege of his subjects of Ireland. First, we desire to know, why his majesty's prerogative might not have been as well asserted by passing this patent in *Ireland*, and subjecting the several conditions of the contract to the inspection of those who are only concerned, as was formerly done in the only precedents for patents granted for coining in this kingdom, since the mint money in queen *Elizabeth's* time during the difficulties of a rebellion: whereas now upon the greatest imposition, that can possibly be practised, we must go to *England* with our complaints; where it hath been for some time the fashion to think, and to affirm, that *we cannot be too hardly used*. Again the *report* says, that *such patents are obligatory*. After long thinking I am not able to find out, what can possibly be meant here by this word *obligatory*. The patent of *Wood* neither *obligeth* him to utter his coin, nor us to take it; or if it did
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the latter, it would be so far void, because no patent can oblige the subject against law; unless an illegal patent passed in one kingdom, can bind *another*, and not itself.

Lastly, it is added, that *such patents are in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberty or privilege of the king's subjects of Ireland*. If this proposition be true, as it is here laid down, without any limitation either expressed or implied, it must follow, that a king of *England* may at any time coin copper money for *Ireland*, and oblige his subjects here to take a piece of copper under the value of half a farthing for half a crown, as was practised by the late king *James*; and even without that arbitrary prince's excuse from the necessity and exigencies of his affairs. If this be in no manner *derogatory, nor invasive of any liberties or privileges of the subjects of Ireland*, it ought to have been expressed what our *liberties and privileges* are, and whether we have any at all; for in specifying the word *Ireland*, instead of saying *his majesty's subjects*, it would seem to insinuate, that we are not upon the same foot with our fellow-subjects in *England*; which, however the practice may have been, I hope will never be directly asserted; for I do not understand that *Poining's* act deprived us of our *liberty*, but only *changed the manner* of passing laws here (which however was a power most indirectly obtained) by leaving the negative to the two houses of parliament. But waving all controversies relating to the legislature, no person, I believe, was ever yet so bold as to affirm, that the people of *Ireland* have not the same title to the benefits of the *common law* with the rest of his majesty's subjects; and therefore, whatever liberties or privileges the people of *England* enjoy by *common law*, we of *Ireland* have the same; so that, in my humble opinion, the word *Ireland* standing in that proposition was in the mildest interpretation a *lapse of the pen*.

The report farther asserts, that *the precedents are many, where in cases of great importance to Ireland, and which immediately*

affected the interests of that kingdom, such as warrants, orders and directions by the authority of the king and his predecessors, have been issued under the royal sign manual without any previous reference or advice of his majesty's officers of Ireland, which have always had their due force, and have been punctually complied with, and obeyed. It may be so, and I am heartily sorry for it; because it may prove an eternal source of discontent. However, among all these *precedents* there is not one of a patent for coining money for Ireland.

There is nothing hath perplexed me more than this doctrine of *precedents*. If a jobb is to be done, and upon searching records you find it hath been done before, there will not want a lawyer to justify the legality of it by producing his *precedents*; without ever considering the motives and circumstances that first introduced them; the necessity, or turbulence, or iniquity of times; the corruptions of ministers, or the arbitrary disposition of the prince then reigning. And I have been told by persons eminent in the law, that the worst actions, which human nature is capable of, may be justified by the same doctrine. How the first *precedents* began of determining cases of the highest importance to Ireland, and immediately affecting its interests, without any previous reference or advice to the king's officers here, may soon be accounted for. Before this kingdom was entirely reduced by the submission of *Tyrone* in the last year of queen *Elizabeth's* reign, there was a period of four hundred years, which was a various scene of war and peace between the *English pale* and the *Irish* natives; and the government of that part of this island, which lay in the *English* hands, was in many things under the immediate administration of the king: silver and copper were often coined here among us; and once at least upon great necessity a mixt or base metal was sent from *England*. The reign of king *James I.* was employed in settling the kingdom after *Tyrone's* rebellion; and this nation flourished extremely till the time of the massacre,

1641. In that difficult juncture of affairs the nobility and gentry coined their own plate here in *Dublin*.

By all that I can discover, the copper coin of *Ireland*, for three hundred years past, consisted of small pence and half-pence; which particular men had licence to coin, and were current only within certain towns and districts, according to the personal credit of the owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof I have seen many sorts; neither have I heard of any patent granted for coining copper for *Ireland*, till the reign of king *Charles* the second, which was in the year 1680, to *George Leg* lord *Dartmouth*; and renewed by king *James* the second, in the first year of his reign (1685) to *John Knox*. Both patents were passed in *Ireland*; and in both the patentees were bound to receive their coin again from any that would offer them twenty shillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay gold or silver.

The patents both of lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox* were referred to the attorney-general here, and a report made accordingly; and both, as I have already said, were passed in this kingdom. *Knox* had only a patent for the remainder of the term granted to lord *Dartmouth*; the patent expired in 1701, and upon a petition by *Roger Moor* to have it renewed, the matter was referred hither; and upon the report of the attorney and solicitor, that it was not for his majesty's service, or the interest of the nation to have it renewed, it was rejected by king *William*. It should therefore seem very *extraordinary*, that a patent for coining copper half-pence, intended and professed for the good of the kingdom, should be passed without once consulting that kingdom, for the good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the application of a *poor, private, obscure mechanick*; and a patent of such a nature, that as soon as ever the kingdom is informed of its being passed, they cry out unanimously against it as *ruinous* and *destructive*. The representatives of the nation in parliament,
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and the privy-council, address the king to have it recalled; yet the *patentee*, such a one as I have described, shall prevail to have this patent approved; and his private interest shall weigh down the application of a whole kingdom. *St. Paul* says, *All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient*. We are answer'd, that this patent is *lawful*: but is it *expedient*? We read, that the high priest said, *It was expedient that one man should die for the people*; and this was a most wicked proposition: but that a *whole nation should die for one man*, was never heard of before.

But because much weight is laid on the *precedents* of other patents for *coining copper* for *Ireland*, I will set this matter in as clear a light as I can. Whoever hath read the *report*, will be apt to think, that a dozen precedents at least could be produced of copper coined for *Ireland* by virtue of patents passed in *England*; and that the coinage was there too; whereas I am confident, there cannot be one *precedent* shewn of a patent passed in *England* for coining copper for *Ireland* for above an hundred years past; and if there were any before, it must be in times of confusion. The only *patents* I could ever hear of, are those already mentioned to lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox*, the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now let us compare these patents with that granted to *Wood*. First, the patent to *Knox*, which was under the same conditions as that granted to lord *Dartmouth*, was passed in *Ireland*; the government and the *attorney* and *solicitor general* making report, that it would be useful to this kingdom.

The patent was passed with the advice of the *king's council* here; the *patentee* was obliged to receive his coin from those who thought themselves furcharged, and to give *gold* and *silver* for it. Lastly, the *patentee* was to pay only 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum* to the crown. Then, as to the execution of that patent; first, I find the *half-pence* were *milled*, which, as it is of great use to prevent counterfeits, (and therefore industriously avoided by

by *Wood*) so it was an addition to the charge of coinage. And as for the weight and goodness of the metal, I have several *half-pence* now by me, many of which weigh a ninth part more than those coined by *Wood*; and bear the fire and hammer a great deal better, and, which is no trifle, the impression is fairer and deeper. I grant indeed, that many of the latter coinage yield in weight to some of *Wood's* by a *fraud* natural to such *patentees*; but not so immediately after the grant, and before the coin grew current; for in this circumstance *Mr. Wood* must serve for a *precedent* in future times.

Let us now examine this new patent granted to *William Wood*. It passed upon very false suggestions of his own and of a few confederates: it passed in *England* without the least reference hither; it passed unknown to the very *lord lieutenant*, then in *England*. *Wood* is impowered to coin one hundred and eight thousand pounds, and all the officers in the kingdom (civil and military) are commanded in the report to countenance and assist him. *Knox* had only power to utter what he would take, and was obliged to receive his coin back again at our demand, and to enter into security for so doing. *Wood's* half-pence are not milled, and therefore more easily counterfeited by himself, as well as by others. *Wood* pays a thousand pounds *per annum* for fourteen years; *Knox* paid only sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence *per annum* for twenty-one years.

It was the report, that set me the example of making a comparison between those two patents, wherein the committee was grossly misled by the false representation of *William Wood*; as it was by another assertion, that seven hundred tons of copper were coined during the twenty-one years of *lord Dartmouth's* and *Knox's* patents. Such a quantity of copper at the rate of two shillings and eight pence *per pound* would amount to about an hundred and ninety thousand pounds; which was very near as much as the current cash of the kingdom in those days; yet during

during that period, *Ireland* was never known to have too much copper coin; and for several years there was no coining at all: besides, I am assured, that upon enquiring into the custom-house-books all the copper imported into this kingdom from 1683 to 1692 which includes eight years of the twenty-one (besides one year allowed for the troubles) did not exceed forty-seven tons. And we cannot suppose even that small quantity to have been wholly applied to coinage: so that I believe there was never any comparison more unluckily made, or so destructive of the design for which it was produced.

The *psalmist* reckons it an effect of God's anger, when *he selleth his people for nought, and taketh no money for them*. That we have greatly offended God by the wickedness of our lives, is not to be disputed: but our king we have not offended in word or deed; and although he be God's vicegerent upon earth, he will not punish us for any offences, except those we shall commit against his legal authority, his sacred person (which God preserve) or the laws of the land.

The *report* is very profuse in arguments, that *Ireland* is in great want of copper money: who were the witnesses to prove it, hath been shewn already: but, in the name of God, who are to be *judges*? Does not the nation best know its own wants? Both houses of *parliament*, the *privy-council*, and the whole body of the people, declare the contrary. Or, let the wants be what they will, we desire they may not be supplied by Mr. *Wood*: we know our own wants but too well; they are *many*, and *grievous* to be borne, but quite of another kind. Let *England* be satisfied: as things go, they will in a short time have all our gold and silver, and may keep their adulterate copper at home, for we are determined not to purchase it with our manufactures, which *Wood* hath graciously offered to accept. Our *wants* are not so bad by a hundredth part as the method he hath taken to supply them. He hath already tried his faculty in *New-England*; and

and I hope he will meet at least with an *equal reception* here ; what *that* was, I leave to publick intelligence. I am supposing a wild case ; that if there should be any person already receiving a monstrous pension out of this kingdom, who was instrumental in procuring the *patent*, they have either not well consulted their own interests, or *Wood* must put more dross into his copper, and still diminish its weight.

Upon *Wood's* complaint, that the officers of the king's revenue here had already given orders to all the inferior officers not to receive any of his coin ; the *report* says, that *this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary proceeding*, and contrary to the powers given in the *patent*. The *committee* say, they cannot advise his majesty to give directions to the officers of the revenue here not to receive or utter any of the said coin, as hath been desired in the addresses of both houses ; but, on the contrary, they think it both just and reasonable, that the king should immediately give orders to the commissioners of the revenue, etc. to revoke all orders, etc. that may have been given by them to hinder or obstruct the receiving the said coin. And accordingly, we are told, such orders are arrived. Now this was a cast of *Wood's* politicks ; for his information was wholly false and groundless, which he knew very well ; and that the commissioners of the revenue here were all, except one, sent us from *England*, and love their employments too well to have taken such a step : but *Wood* was wise enough to consider, that such orders of *revocation* would be an open declaration of the crown in his favour, would put the government here under a difficulty, would make a noise, and possibly create some terror in the poor people of *Ireland*. And one great point he hath gained, that although any orders of revocation will be needless, yet a new order is to be sent (and perhaps is already here) to the commissioners of the revenue, and all the king's officers in *Ireland*, that *Wood's* half-pence be suffered and permitted, without any let, suit, trouble, molestation, or denial of any of the king's
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officers or ministers whatsoever, to pass, and be received as current money by such as shall be willing to receive them. In this order there is no exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all *officers, both civil and military, from the lord high chancellor to a justice of peace, and from the general to an ensign;* so that *Wood's* project is not likely to fail for want of *managers* enough. For my own part, as things stand, I have but little regret to find my self out of the *number*; and therefore I shall continue in all humility to exhort and warn my fellow-subjects never to receive or utter this coin, which will reduce the kingdom to beggary by much *quicker and larger steps* than have hitherto been taken.

But it is needless to argue any longer. The matter is come to an issue. His majesty *pursuant to the law* hath left the field open between *Wood* and the kingdom of *Ireland*. *Wood* hath liberty to offer his coin, and we have *law, reason, liberty, and necessity* to refuse it. A knavish jockey may ride an old foundered jade about the market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the words *voluntary, and willing to receive it*, will be understood and applied in their true natural meaning, as *commonly understood by protestants*. For if a *fierce captain* comes to my shop to buy six yards of scarlet cloth, followed by a porter laden with a sack of *Wood's* coin upon his shoulders; if we are agreed about the price, and my scarlet lies ready cut upon the counter; if he then gives me the *word of command* to receive my money in *Wood's* coin, and calls me a *disaffected, jacobite dog*, for refusing it (although I am as loyal a subject as himself, and *without hire*) and thereupon seizes my cloth, leaving me the price in this odious copper, and bids me take my remedy: in this case I shall hardly be brought to think, that I am *left to my own will*. I shall therefore on such occasions first order the porter aforesaid to go off with his pack; and then see the money in *silver and gold* in my possession, before I cut or measure my cloth. But if a *common soldier*

dier drinks his pot first, and then offers payment in *Wood's half-pence*, the *landlady* may be under some difficulty; for if she complains to his *captain* or *ensign*, they are likewise *officers* included in this general order for encouraging these *half-pence* to pass as *current money*. If she goes to a *justice of peace*, he is also an *officer*, to whom this general order is directed. I do therefore advise her to follow my practice, which I have already begun, and be paid for her goods before she parts with them. However, I should have been content for some reasons, that the *military gentlemen* had been excepted by name; because I have heard it said, that their discipline is best confined within their own district.

His majesty, in the conclusion of his answer to the address of the house of lords against *Wood's coin*, is pleased to say, that *he will do every thing in his power to the satisfaction of his people*. It should seem therefore, that the recalling the patent is not to be understood as a thing *in his power*. But however, since the law doth not oblige us to receive this coin, and consequently the patent leaves it to our voluntary choice, there is nothing remaining to preserve us from ruin, but that the whole kingdom should continue in a firm, determinate resolution never to receive or utter this *fatal coin*. After which let the *officers*, to whom these orders are directed (I would willingly except the *military*) come with their *exhortations*, their *arguments*, and their *eloquence*, to persuade us to find our interest in our undoing. Let *Wood* and his *accomplices* travel about the country with *cart-loads* of their *ware*, and see who will take it off their hands; there will be no fear of his being robbed; for a *highwayman* would scorn to touch it.

I am only in pain how the *commissioners* of the *revenue* will proceed in this juncture; because, I am told, they are obliged by act of parliament to take nothing but *gold* and *silver* in payment for his majesty's *customs*: and I think they cannot justly offer

offer this coinage of Mr. *Wood* to others, unless they will be content to receive it themselves.

The sum of the whole is this: the *committee* advises the king to send immediate orders to all his officers here, that *Wood's* coin be suffered and permitted without any let, suit, trouble, etc. to pass, and to be received as current money by such as shall be willing to receive the same. It is probable, that the first willing receivers may be those, who must receive it whether they will or no, at least under the penalty of losing an office. But the landed undependent men, the merchants, the shopkeepers, and bulk of the people, I hope, and am almost confident, will never receive it. What must the consequence be? the owners will sell it for as much as they can get. *Wood's* half-pence will come to be offered for six a penny (yet then he will be a sufficient gainer) and the necessary receivers will be losers of two thirds in their salaries or pay.

This puts me in mind of a passage I was told many years ago in *England*. At a quarter-session in *Leicester* the justices had wisely decreed to take off a half-penny in a quart from the price of ale. One of them, who came in after the thing was determined, being informed of what had passed, said thus: *Gentlemen, you have made an order, that ale should be sold in our county for three half-pence a quart; I desire you will now make another to appoint who must drink it; for by G— I will not.*

I must beg leave to caution your lordships and worships in one particular. *Wood* hath graciously promised to load us at present only with forty thousand pounds of his coin, 'till the exigencies of the kingdom require the rest. I intreat you will never suffer Mr. *Wood* to be a judge of your exigencies. While there is one piece of silver or gold left in the kingdom, he will call it an exigency. He will double his present quantum by stealth as soon as he can; he will pour his own raps and counterfeits upon us; *France* and *Holland* will do the same; nor will our own coiners at home be behind

behind them : to confirm which, I have now in my pocket a *rap*, or counterfeit half-penny, in imitation of his ; but so ill performed, that in my conscience I believe it is not of his coining.

I must now desire your *lordships* and *worships*, that you will give great allowance for this long undigested paper. I find myself to have gone into several repetitions, which were the effects of haste, while new thoughts fell in to add something to what I had said before. I think I may affirm, that I have fully answered every paragraph in the *report*; which although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the spirit of a pleader, who can find the most plausible topicks in behalf of his client, yet there was no great skill required to detect the many mistakes contained in it ; which however are by no means to be charged upon the right honourable *committee*, but upon the most false, impudent, and fraudulent representations of *Wood* and his accomplices. I desire one particular may dwell upon your minds, although I have mentioned it more than once ; that after all the weight laid upon *precedents*, there is not one produced in the whole *report*, of a patent for coining copper in *England* to pass in *Ireland* ; and only two patents referred to, (for indeed there were no more) which were both passed in *Ireland*, by references to the king's council here, both less advantageous to the coiner than this of *Wood* ; and in both, *securities given to receive the coin at every call, and give gold and silver in lieu of it*. This demonstrates the most flagrant falshood and impudence of *Wood*, by which he would endeavour to make the right honourable *committee* his instruments (for his own illegal and exorbitant gain) to ruin a kingdom, which has deserved *quite different treatment*.

I am very sensible, that such a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen : but when a house is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakest in the family runs first to stop the door. All the assistance I had, were some informations from an eminent *person* ; whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few by endeavouring to make them of a
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piece with my own productions, and the rest I was not able to manage: I was in the case of *David*, who *could not move in the armour of Saul*; and therefore I rather chose to attack this *uncircumcised Philistine* (*Wood* I mean) with a *sling and a stone*. And I may say for *Wood's* honour, as well as my own, that he resembles *Goliath* in many circumstances very applicable to the present purpose: for *Goliath* had a *helmet of brass upon his head*, and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was five thousand *shekels of brass*, and he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders. In short, he was like Mr. *Wood*, all over brass, and he defied the armies of the living God. *Goliath's* conditions of combat were likewise the same with those of *Wood*: if he prevail against us, then shall we be his servants. But if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; he shall never be a servant of mine; for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any honest man's shop.

I will conclude with my humble desire and request, which I made in my second letter, that your lordships and worships would please to order a declaration to be drawn up, expressing in the strongest terms your resolutions never to receive or utter any of *Wood's* half-pence, or farthings; and forbidding your tenants to receive them: that the said declaration may be signed by as many persons as possible*, who have estates in this kingdom, and be sent down to your several tenants aforesaid.

And if the dread of *Wood's* half-pence should continue until next quarter-sessions, which I hope it will not, the gentlemen of every county will then have a fair opportunity of declaring against them with unanimity and zeal.

I am, with the greatest respect,

(may it please your lordships and worships)

your most dutiful and obedient servant,

Aug. 25, 1724.

M. B.

* A declaration pursuant to this request was signed soon after by the most considerable persons of the kingdom, which was universally spread, and of great use.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

To the Whole People of

IRELAND.

My dear countrymen,

HAVING already written three letters upon so disagreeable a subject as Mr. *Wood* and his *half-pence*, I conceived my task was at an end; but I find that cordials must be frequently applied to weak constitutions, *political* as well as *natural*. A people long used to hardships lose by degrees the very notions of *liberty*; they look upon themselves as creatures at mercy, and that all impositions laid on them by a stronger hand are, in the phrase of the report, *legal* and *obligatory*. Hence proceed that *poverty* and *lowness of spirit*, to which a *kingdom* may be *subject*, as well as a *particular person*. And when *Esau* came fainting from the field at the point to die, it is no wonder that he sold his *birth-right* for a *mess of pottage*.

I thought I had sufficiently shewn to all, who could want instruction, by what methods they might safely proceed, whenever this *coin* should be offered to them: and I believe, there hath not been for many ages an example of any kingdom so firmly united in a point of great importance, as this of ours is at present against that detestable fraud. But however, it so happens, that some weak people begin to be alarmed a-new by rumours industriously spread. *Wood* prescribes to the news-mongers in *London* what they are to write. In one of their papers published here by some obscure printer (and certainly with a bad design) we are told, that the *papists* in Ireland have entered into an association against
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his coin; although it be notoriously known, that they never once offered to stir in the matter; so that the two houses of parliament, the privy-council, the great numbers of corporations, the lord-mayor and aldermen of *Dublin*, the grand-juries, and principal gentlemen of several counties, are stigmatized in a lump under the name of *papists*.

This impostor and his crew do likewise give out, that by refusing to receive his dross for sterling, we *dispute the king's prerogative, are grown ripe for rebellion, and ready to shake off the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of England*. To countenance which reports he hath published a paragraph in another newspaper to let us know, that *the lord lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to settle his half-pence*.

I intreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the least concern upon these, and the like rumours, which are no more than the last howls of a dog dissected alive, as I hope he hath sufficiently been. These calumnies are the only reserve that is left him. For surely our continued and (almost) unexampled loyalty will never be called in question for not suffering ourselves to be robbed of all that we have by one obscure *ironmonger*.

As to disputing the king's *prerogative*, give me leave to explain to those who are ignorant, what the meaning of that word, *prerogative*, is.

The kings of these realms enjoy several powers, wherein the laws have not interposed; so they can make war and peace without the consent of parliament, and this is a very great *prerogative*: but if the parliament doth not approve of the war, the king must bear the charge of it out of his own purse; and this is as great a check on the crown. So the king hath a *prerogative* to coin money without consent of parliament: but he cannot compel the subject to take that money, except it be sterling, gold or silver; because herein he is limited by law. Some princes have indeed extended their *prerogative* farther than the law allowed them: wherein

wherein however the lawyers of succeeding ages, as fond as they are of *precedents*, have never dared to justify them. But, to say the truth, it is only of late times that *prerogative* hath been fixed and ascertained. For whoever reads the history of *England* will find, that some former kings, and those none of the worst, have upon several occasions ventured to controll the laws, with very little ceremony or scruple, even later than the days of queen *Elizabeth*. In her reign, that pernicious counsel of sending *base money* hither very narrowly failed of losing the kingdom; being complained of by the lord deputy, the council, and the whole body of the *English* here: so that, soon after her death, it was recalled by her successor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

Having thus given you some notion of what is meant by the king's *prerogative*, as far as a *tradesman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the opinion of the great lord *Bacon*, that, as *God governs the world by the settled laws of nature, which he hath made, and never transcends those laws but upon high, important occasions; so, among earthly princes, those are the wisest and the best, who govern by the known laws of the country, and seldomest make use of their prerogative.*

Now here you may see, that the vile accusation of *Wood* and his *accomplices*, charging us with *disputing the king's prerogative* by refusing his brads, can have no place; because compelling the subject to take any coin, which is not sterling, is no part of the king's *prerogative*; and I am very confident, if it were so, we should be the last of his people to dispute it, as well from that inviolable loyalty we have always paid to his majesty, as from the treatment we might in such a case justly expect from some, who seem to think, we have neither *common sense, nor common senses*. But, God be thanked, the best of them are only our *fellow-subjects*, and not our *masters*. One great merit I am sure we have, which those of *English* birth can have no pretence to, that our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of ENG-

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LAND; for which we have been rewarded with a *worse climate*, the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not consent, a ruined trade, a house of *peers* without *jurisdiction*, almost an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of *Wood's* half-pence.

But we are so far from disputing the king's *prerogative* in coining, that we own he hath power to give a patent to any man for setting his royal image and superscription upon whatever materials he pleases; and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from *England* to *Japan*, only attended with one small limitation, that *no body alive is obliged to take them*.

Upon these considerations I was ever against all recourse to *England* for a remedy against the present impending evil; especially when I observed, that the addresses of both houses after long expectance produced nothing but a REPORT altogether in favour of *Wood*; upon which I made some observations in a former letter, and might at least have made as many more; for it is a paper of as singular a nature as I ever beheld.

But I mistake; for before this *report* was made, his majesty's *most gracious answer* to the house of lords was sent over, and printed; wherein are these words, *granting the patent for coining half-pence and farthings*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, *etc.* That king *Charles II.* and king *James II.* (AND THEY ONLY) did grant patents for this purpose, is indisputable, and I have shewn it at large. Their patents were passed under the great seal of *Ireland*, by references to *Ireland*, the copper to be coined in *Ireland*; the patentee was bound on demand to receive his coin back in *Ireland*, and pay silver and gold in return. *Wood's* patent was made under the great seal of *England*, the brass coined in *England*, not the least reference made to *Ireland*; the sum immense, and the patentee under no obligation to receive it again, and give good money for it. This I only mention, because in my private thoughts I have sometimes
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made a query, whether the *penner* of those words in his majesty's *most gracious answer*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely considered the several circumstances, which in my poor opinion seem to make a difference *.

Let me now say something concerning the other great cause of some people's fear, as *Wood* has taught the *London* news-writer to express it, that *his excellency the lord lieutenant is coming over to settle Wood's half-pence*.

We know very well, that the lords lieutenants for several years past have not thought this kingdom *worthy the honour of their residence*, longer than was absolutely necessary for the king's business; which consequently *wanted no speed in the dispatch*. And therefore it naturally fell into most men's thoughts that a new governor, coming at an *unusual* time, must portend some *unusual* business to be done; especially if the common report be true, that the parliament, prorogued to I know not when, is by a new summons revoking that prorogation to assemble soon after his arrival; for which extraordinary proceeding the lawyers on t'other side the water have by great good fortune found two *precedents*.

All this being granted, it can never enter into my head, that so *little a creature as Wood* could find credit enough with the king and his ministers to have the lord lieutenant of *Ireland* sent hither in a hurry upon his errand.

For, let us take the whole matter nakedly, as it lies before us, without the refinements of some people, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a patent granted under the great seal of *England*, upon false suggestions, to one *William Wood* for coining copper *half-pence* for *Ireland*: the parliament here, upon apprehensions of the worst consequences from the said patent, address the king to have it recalled: this is refused, and a committee of the privy-council *report* to his majesty, that *Wood* has performed the conditions of his patent. He then is left to do

* See the note at the end of this letter.

the best he can with his *half-pence*, no man being obliged to receive them; the people here being likewise left to themselves unite as one man, resolving they will have nothing to do with his ware. By this plain account of the fact it is manifest, that the king and his ministry are wholly out of the case, and the matter is left to be disputed between him and us. Will any man therefore attempt to persuade me, that a lord lieutenant is to be dispatched over in great haste before the ordinary time, and a parliament summoned by anticipating a prorogation, merely to put an hundred thousand pounds into the pocket of a *sharp* by the ruin of a most loyal kingdom.

But supposing all this to be true: by what arguments could a lord lieutenant prevail on the same parliament, which addressed with so much zeal and earnestness against this evil, to pass it into a law? I am sure their opinion of *Wood* and his project are not mended since their last prorogation: and supposing those *methods* should be used, which *detractors* tell us have been sometimes put in practice for *gaining votes*, it is well known, that in this kingdom there are few employments to be given; and, if there were more, it is *as well known* to whose share they must fall.

But, because great numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the affairs of your country, I will tell you some reasons, why there are so few employments to be disposed of in this kingdom. All considerable offices for life here are possessed by those, to whom the reversions were granted; and these have been generally followers of the chief governors, or persons who had interest in the court of *England*: so the lord *Berkely* of *Stratton* holds that great office of *master of the rolls*; the lord *Palmerstown* is *first remembrancer*, worth near 2000 *l. per annum*. One *Dodington*, secretary to the earl of *Pembroke*, begged the reversion of *clerk of the pells* worth 2500 *l.* a year, which he now enjoys by the death of the lord *Newtown*. Mr. *Southwell* is secretary of state, and the earl of *Burlington* lord high treasurer of *Ireland*
by

by inheritance. These are only a few among many others, which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the reversion of several employments during pleasure is granted the same way. This among many others is a circumstance, whereby the kingdom of *Ireland* is distinguished from all other nations upon earth, and makes it so difficult an affair to get into a civil employ, that Mr. *Addison* was forced to purchase an old obscure place, called *keeper of the records in Bermingham's tower*, of ten pounds a year, and to get a salary of 400*l.* annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half-a-crown either for curiosity or use. And we lately saw * a *favourite secretary* descend to be *master of the revels*, which by his *credit and extortion* he hath made *pretty considerable*. I say nothing of the under-treasurership worth about 9000*l.* a year, nor of the commissioners of the revenue, four of whom generally live in *England*; for I think none of these are granted in reversion. But the jest is, that I have known upon occasion some of these absent officers as *keen* against the interest of *Ireland*, as if they had never been indebted to her for a *single groat*.

I confess I have been sometimes tempted to wish, that this project of *Wood* might succeed; because I reflected with some pleasure, what a *jolly crew* it would bring over among us of *lords*, and *squires*, and *pensioners* of both sexes, and officers *civil* and *military*, where we should live together as merry and sociable as beggars; only with this one abatement, that we should neither have *meat* to feed, nor *manufactures* to cloath us, unless we could be content to *prance* about in *coats of mail*, or eat *brass* as ostridges do *iron*.

I return from this digression to that which gave me the occasion of making it: and I believe you are now convinced, that if the parliament of *Ireland* were as *temptable* as any other assembly within a mile of *Christendom* (which God forbid;) yet the

* Mr. *Hopkins*, secretary to the duke of *Grafton*.

managers must of necessity fail for want of *tools* to work with. But I will yet go one step further by supposing, that a hundred new employments were erected on purpose to gratify *compliers*; yet still an insuperable difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that *money* is neither *whig* nor *tory*, neither of *town* nor *country party*; and it is not improbable, that a gentleman would rather chuse to live upon his *own estate*, which brings him *gold* and *silver*, than with the addition of an *employment*, when his *rents* and *salary* must both be paid in *Wood's* brags at above eighty *per cent.* discount.

For these, and many other reasons, I am confident you need not be under the least apprehensions from the sudden expectation of the *lord lieutenant* *, while we continue in our present hearty disposition, to alter which no suitable temptation can possibly be offered. And if, as I have often asserted from the best authority, the *law* hath not left a *power* in the *crown* to force any money, except sterling, upon the subject; much less can the crown *devolve* such a *power* upon *another*.

This I speak with the utmost respect to the *person* and *dignity* of his excellency the lord *Carteret*, whose character was lately given me by a gentleman, that hath known him from his first appearance in the world: that gentleman describes him as a young man of great accomplishments, excellent learning, regular in his life, and of much spirit and vivacity. He hath since, as I have heard, been employed abroad; was principal secretary of state; and is now about the thirty-seventh year of his age appointed lord lieutenant of *Ireland*. From such a governor this kingdom may reasonably hope for as much prosperity as, *under so many discouragements*, it can be capable of receiving.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man there have been governors of so much dexterity, as to carry points of terrible consequence to this kingdom by their power with *those who*

* Lord *Carteret*, now Earl *Granville*.

are in office; and by their arts in managing or deluding others with oaths, affability, and even with dinners. If Wood's brass had in those times been upon the anvil, it is obvious enough to conceive what methods would have been taken. Depending persons would have been told in plain terms, that it was a service expected from them, under the pain of the publick business being put into more complying hands. Others would be allured by promises. To the country gentlemen, besides good words, burgundy, and clofetting, it might perhaps have been hinted, how kindly it would be taken to comply with a royal patent, although it were not compulsory: that if any inconveniencies ensued, it might be made up with other graces or favours hereafter: that gentlemen ought to consider, whether it were prudent or safe to disgust England: they would be desired to think of some good bills for encouraging of trade, and setting the poor to work; some further acts against popery, and for uniting protestants. There would be solemn engagements, that we should never be troubled with above forty thousand pounds in his coin, and all of the best and weightiest sort, for which we should only give our manufactures in exchange, and keep our gold and silver at home. Perhaps a seasonable report of some invasion would have been spread in the most proper juncture; which is a great smother of rubs in publick proceedings: and we should have been told, that this was no time to create differences, when the kingdom was in danger.

These, I say, and the like methods, would in corrupt times have been taken to let in this deluge of brass amongus. And, I am confident, even then would not have succeeded; much less under the administration of so excellent a person as the lord CARTERET; and in a country where the people of all ranks, parties, and denominations, are convinced to a man, that the utter undoing of themselves and their posterity for ever will be dated from the admission of that execrable coin: that if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a small or moderate quantity, than
a plague

a *plague* can be confined to a few families; and that no *equivalent* can be given by any earthly power, any more than a dead carcase can be recovered to life by a cordial.

There is one comfortable circumstance in this universal opposition to Mr. *Wood*, that the people sent over hither from *England* to fill up our vacancies, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, are all on our side. Money, the great divider of the world, hath by a strange revolution been the great uniter of a most divided people. Who would leave a hundred pounds a year in *England* (a country of freedom) to be paid a thousand in *Ireland* out of *Wood's* exchequer? The gentleman they have lately made *primate* *, would never quit his seat in an *English* house of lords, and his preferments at *Oxford* and *Bristol* worth twelve hundred pounds a year, for four times the denomination here, but not half the value; therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an *Irishman* at least upon this one article as any of his brethren, or even of us, who have had the misfortune to be born in this island. For those who, in the common phrase, do not come hither to learn the language, would never change a better country for a worse to receive brags instead of gold.

Another slander spread by *Wood* and his emissaries is, that by opposing him we discover an inclination to shake off our dependence upon the crown of *England*. Pray observe how important a person is this same *William Wood*; and how the publick weal of two kingdoms is involved in his private interest. First, all those who refuse to take his coin are *papists*; for he tells us, that none but *papists* are associated against him. Secondly, they dispute the king's prerogative. Thirdly, they are ripe for rebellion. And, fourthly, they are going to shake off their dependence upon the crown of *England*; that is to say, they are going to chuse another king; for there can be no other meaning in this expression, however some may pretend to strain it.

* Doctor *Hugh Boulter*.

And

And this gives me an opportunity of explaining to those who are ignorant another point, which hath often *swelled in my breast*. Those who come over hither to us from *England*, and some *weak* people among ourselves, whenever in discourse we make mention of *liberty* and *property*, shake their heads, and tell us, that * *Ireland* is a *depending kingdom*; as if they would seem by this phrase to intend, that the people of *Ireland* are in some state of slavery or dependence different from those of *England*: whereas a *depending kingdom* is a *modern term of art*, unknown as I have heard to all ancient *civilians*, and *writers upon government*; and *Ireland* is, on the contrary, called in some statutes an *imperial crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a style as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this expression, a *depending kingdom*, there is no more to be understood than that, by a statute made here in the thirty-third year of *Henry VIII. the king, and his successors, are to be kings imperial of this realm, as united and knit to the imperial crown of England*. I have looked over all the *English* and *Irish* statutes without finding any law, that makes *Ireland* depend upon *England*, any more than *England* doth upon *Ireland*. We have indeed obliged ourselves to have *the same king with them*; and consequently they are obliged to have *the same king with us*. For the law was made by *our own parliament*; and our ancestors then were not such *fools (whatever they were in the preceding reign)* to bring themselves under I know not what *dependence*, which is now talked of without any ground of *law, reason, or common sense*.

Let whoever think otherwise, I, *M. B. drapier* desire to be excepted: for I declare, next under God I *depend* only on the king my sovereign, and on the laws of my own country. And I am so far from *depending* upon the people of *England*, that, if they should ever *rebel* against my sovereign, (which God forbid) I would be ready at the first command from his majesty to take

* See the note at the end of this letter.

arms against them, as some of *my* countrymen did against *them* at *Preston*. And if such a rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of *England*, I would venture to transgress that *statute* so far, as to lose every drop of my blood to hinder him from being king of *Ireland* †.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man the parliaments of *England* have *sometimes* assumed the power of binding this kingdom by laws enacted there; wherein they were at first openly opposed (as far as *truth*, *reason*, and *justice* are capable of *opposing*) by the famous Mr. *Molineux*, an *English* gentleman born here, as well as by several of the greatest patriots and *best whigs* in *England*; but the *love* and *torrent* of power prevailed. Indeed the arguments on both sides were invincible. For in *reason*, all *government* without the consent of the *governed* is the very *definition* of *slavery*: but in fact, *eleven men well armed* will certainly *subdue one single man in his shirt*. But I have done: for those who have used *power* to cramp *liberty*, have gone so far as to resent even the *liberty* of *complaining*; although a man upon the rack was never known to be refused the liberty of *roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

And as we are apt to *sink* too much under *unreasonable* fears, so we are too soon inclined to be *raised* by groundless hopes, according to the nature of all *consumptive* bodies like ours. Thus it hath been given about for several days past, that *somebody* in *England* empowered a *second somebody* to write to a third *somebody* here to assure us, that we *should no more be troubled with these half-pence*. And this is reported to have been done by the ** same person*, who is said to have sworn some months ago, that he would *ram them down their throats*, (though I doubt they would *stick in our stomachs*;) but which ever of these reports be true or false, it is no concern of ours. For *in this point* we have nothing to do

† This paragraph gave great offence. See letter V.

* Mr. *Walpole*, afterwards E. of *Orford*.

with

with *English ministers*: and I should be sorry to leave it in their power to redress this grievance, or to enforce it; for the *report of the committee* hath given me a *surfeit*. The remedy is wholly in your own hands; and therefore I have digressed a little in order to refresh and continue that *spirit* so seasonably raised amongst you; and to let you see, that by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your COUNTRY, you ARE, and OUGHT to be as FREE a people as your brethren in *England*.

If the pamphlets published at *London* by *Wood* and his *journey-men* in defence of his cause were reprinted here, and that our countrymen could be persuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked design, more than all I shall ever be able to say. In short, I make him a perfect *saint* in comparison of what he appears to be from the writings of those, whom he *hires* to justify his *project*. But he is so far *master of the field*, (*let others guess the reason*) that no *London* printer dare publish any paper written in favour of *Ireland*: and here no body hath yet been so *bold* as to publish any thing in *favour* of him.

There was, a few days ago, a pamphlet sent me of near fifty pages written in favour of Mr. *Wood* and his coinage, printed in *London*: it is not worth answering, because probably it will never be published here. But it gave me occasion to reflect upon an unhappiness we lie under, that the people of *England* are utterly ignorant of our case; which however is no wonder, since it is a point they do not in the least concern themselves about, farther than perhaps as a subject of discourse in a coffee-house when they have nothing else to talk of. For I have reason to believe, that no *minister* ever gave himself the trouble of reading any papers written in our defence, because I suppose their *opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the reports of *Wood* and his accomplices; else it would be impossible, that any man could have the impudence to write such a pamphlet as I have mentioned.

Our neighbours, whose understandings are just upon a level with ours (which perhaps are none of the *brightest*) have a strong contempt for most nations, but especially for *Ireland*. They look upon us as a sort of *savage Irish*, whom our ancestors conquered several hundred years ago. And if I should describe the *Britons* to you as they were in *Cæsar's* time, when they *painted their bodies, or clothed themselves with the skins of beasts*, I should act full as reasonably as they do. However, they are so far to be excused in relation to the present subject, that hearing only *one side of the cause*, and having neither opportunity nor curiosity to examine the *other*, they *believe a lie* merely for their ease; and conclude, because Mr. *Wood* pretends to have *power*, he hath also *reason* on his side.

Therefore, to let you see how this case is represented in *England* by *Wood* and his adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that pamphlet a few of those notorious falsehoods in point of *fact* and *reasoning* contained therein, the knowledge whereof will confirm my countrymen in their *own* right sentiments, when they will see, by comparing both, how much their *enemies* are in the *wrong*.

First, the writer positively asserts, that *Wood's half-pence* were *current among us for several months, with the universal approbation of all people, without one single gainsayer; and we all, to a man, thought ourselves happy in having them.*

Secondly, he affirms, that *we were drawn into a dislike of them only by some cunning, evil-designing men among us, who opposed this patent of Wood to get another for themselves.*

Thirdly, that *those, who most declared at first against Wood's patent, were the very men who intend to get another for their own advantage.*

Fourthly, that *our parliament and privy-council, the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin, the grand juries and merchants, and in short the whole kingdom, nay, the very dogs* (as he expresseth it,

it) were fond of those half-pence, till they were inflamed by those few designing persons aforesaid.

Fifthly, he says directly, that all those who opposed the half-pence, were papists, and enemies to king George.

Thus far, I am confident, the most ignorant among you can safely swear from your own knowledge, that the author is a most notorious liar in every article; the direct contrary being so manifest to the whole kingdom, that, if occasion required, we might get it confirmed under five hundred thousand hands.

Sixthly, he would persuade us, that if we sell five shillings worth of our goods or manufactures for two shillings and four-pence worth of copper, although the copper were melted down, and that we could get five shillings in gold and silver for the said goods; yet to take the said two shillings and four-pence in copper would be greatly for our advantage.

And, lastly, he makes us a very fair offer, as empowered by Wood, that if we will take off two hundred thousand pounds in his half-pence for our goods, and likewise pay him three per cent. interest for thirty years for an hundred and twenty thousand pounds (at which he computes the coinage above the intrinsic value of the copper) for the loan of his coin, he will after that time give us good money for what half-pence will be then left.

Let me place this offer in as clear a light as I can to shew the insupportable villainy and impudence of that incorrigible wretch. First (says he) I will send two hundred thousand pounds of my coin into your country: the copper I compute to be in real value eighty thousand pounds, and I charge you with an hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the coinage; so that you see, I lend you an hundred and twenty thousand pounds for thirty years; for which you shall pay me three per cent. that is to say, three thousand six hundred pounds per annum, which in thirty years will amount to an hundred and eight thousand pounds. And when these thirty
years

years are expired, return me my copper, and I will give you good money for it.

This is the proposal made to us by *Wood* in that pamphlet written by one of his *commissioners*: and the author is supposed to be the same infamous *Coleby*, one of his *under-swearers* at the *committee of council*, who was tried for *robbing the treasury here*, where he was an under-clerk.

By this proposal he will first receive two hundred thousand pounds in goods or sterling for as much copper as he values at eighty thousand pounds, but in reality not worth thirty thousand pounds. Secondly, he will receive for interest an hundred and eight thousand pounds: and when our children come thirty years hence to return his *half-pence* upon his executors, (for before that time he will be probably gone to *his own place*) those executors will very reasonably reject them as raps and counterfeits, which they will be, and millions of them of his own coinage.

Methinks I am fond of such a *dealer* as this, who mends every day upon our hands like a *Dutch* reckoning, wherein if you dispute the unreasonableness and exorbitance of the bill, the landlord shall bring it up every time with new additions.

Although these and the like pamphlets published by *Wood* in *London* are altogether unknown here, where no body could read them without as much *indignation*, as *contempt* would allow; yet I thought it proper to give you a specimen how the man employs his time, where he rides alone without any creature to contradict him; while OUR FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our silence: and the *English* in general, if they think of this matter at all, impute our refusal to *wilfulness* or *disaffection*, just as *Wood* and his *hirelings* are pleased to represent.

But although our arguments are not suffered to be printed in *England*, yet the consequence will be of little moment. Let *Wood* endeavour to persuade the people there, that we ought to
receive

receive his coin ; and let me convince our people here, that they ought to *reject* it under pain of our utter undoing ; and then let him do his *best* and his *worst*.

Before I conclude, I must beg leave in all humility to tell Mr. *Wood*, that he is guilty of great *indiscretion* by causing so honourable a name as that of Mr. *Walpole* to be mentioned so often and in such a manner upon this occasion. A short paper printed at *Bristol*, and reprinted here, reports Mr. *Wood* to say, that he *wonders at the impudence and insolence of the Irish in refusing his coin, and what he will do when Mr. Walpole comes to town*. Where, by the way, he is mistaken ; for it is the *true English people of Ireland* who refuse it, although we take it for granted, that the *Irish* will do so too whenever they are asked. In another printed paper of his contriving it is roundly expressed, that Mr. *Walpole* will *cram his brags down our throats*. Sometimes it is given out, that we must *either take these half-pence, or eat our brogues* : and in another news-letter, but of yesterday, we read, that the same great man *hath sworn to make us swallow his coin in fire-balls*.

This brings to my mind the known story of a *Scotch* man, who receiving the sentence of death with all the circumstances of *banging, beheading, quartering, embowelling*, and the like, cried out, *What need all this COOKERY?* and I think we have reason to ask the same question ; for, if we believe *Wood*, here is a *dinner* getting ready for us ; and you see the *bill of fare* ; and I am sorry the *drink* was forgot, which might easily be supplied with *melted lead and flaming pitch*.

What vile words are these to put into the mouth of a great counsellor, in high trust with his majesty, and looked upon as a prime minister ? If Mr. *Wood* hath no better a manner of representing his patrons, when I come to be a *great man* he shall never be suffered to attend at my *levee*. This is not the style of a
great

great minister ; it favours too much of the *kettle* and the *furnace*, and came entirely out of *Wood's* forge.

As for the threat of making us *eat our brogues*, we need not be in pain ; for if his coin should pass, that *unpolite covering for the feet* would no longer be a *national reproach* ; because then we should have neither *shoe* nor *brogue* left in the kingdom. But here the falshood of Mr. *Wood* is fairly detected ; for I am confident Mr. *Walpole* never heard of a *brogue* in his whole life.

As to *swallowing these half-pence in fire-balls*, it is a story equally improbable. For, to execute this operation, the whole stock of Mr. *Wood's* coin and metal must be melted down, and moulded into hollow *balls* with *wild-fire*, no bigger than a reasonable throat may be able to swallow. Now, the metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount to at least fifty millions of *half-pence* to be *swallowed* by a million and an half of people ; so that, allowing two half-pence to each *ball*, there will be about seventeen balls of wild-fire a-piece to be swallowed by every person in the kingdom ; and to administer this dose there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thousand *operators*, allowing one operator to every thirty ; which, considering the *squeamishness* of some stomachs, and the *peevishness* of young children, is but reasonable. Now, under correction of better judgments, I think the trouble and charge of such an experiment would exceed the profit ; and therefore I take this report to be spurious, or, at least, only a new scheme of Mr. *Wood* himself ; which, to make it pass the better in *Ireland*, he would father upon a *minister of state*.

But I will now demonstrate, beyond all contradiction, that Mr. *Walpole* is against this project of Mr. *Wood*, and is an entire friend to *Ireland*, only by this one invincible argument, that he has the universal opinion of being a wise man, an able minister, and

and in all his proceedings pursuing the *true interest* of the *king* his *master*: and that as his *integrity* is above all *corruption*, so is his *fortune* above all *temptation*. I reckon, therefore, we are perfectly safe from that *corner*, and shall never be under the necessity of contending with so *formidable a power*, but be left to possess our *brogues* and *potatoes* in peace, as * *remote from thunder* as we are from *Jupiter*.

I am, my dear countrymen,

your loving fellow-subject,

fellow-sufferer, and

humble servant,

Octob. 13, 1724.

M. B.

* Procul à Jove procul à fulmine.

Upon the arrival of lord *Carteret*, soon after the publication of this letter, the passages from which this note is referred to were selected as sufficient ground for prosecution, and a proclamation was published by his excellency and council offering a reward of three hundred pounds for discovering the author. *Harding* the printer was imprisoned, and a bill of indictment was ordered to be prepared against him: which gave occasion to the following paper.

M

SEA-

SEASONABLE
ADVICE
TO THE
GRAND-JURY
CONCERNING THE

Bill preparing against the PRINTER of the preceding LETTER.

SInce a *bill* is preparing for the *grand-jury* to find against the printer of the *Drapier's last letter*, there are several things maturely to be considered by those gentlemen before they determine upon it.

First, they are to consider, that the author of the said pamphlet did write three other discourses on the same subject, which, instead of being censured, were universally approved by the whole nation, and were allowed to have raised and continued that spirit among us, which hath hitherto kept out *Wood's* coin; for all men will grant, that if those pamphlets had not been written, his coin must have over-run the nation some months ago.

Secondly, it is to be considered, that this pamphlet, against which a *proclamation* hath been issued, is written by the *same author*: that no body ever doubted the innocence and goodness of his design; that he appears through the whole tenor of it to be a *loyal subject* to his majesty, and devoted to the house of *Hanover*, and declares himself in a manner peculiarly zealous against the *pretender*. And if such a writer in four several treatises on so nice a subject, where a royal patent is concerned, and where it was necessary to speak of *England* and of *liberty*, should in one or two places happen to let fall an inadvertent expression, it would be hard to condemn him after all the good he hath done, especially when we consider,

der, that he could have no possible design in view either of honour or profit, but purely the GOOD of his COUNTRY.

Thirdly, it ought to be well considered, whether any one expression in the said pamphlet be really liable to a just exception, much less to be found *wicked, malicious, seditious, reflecting upon his majesty and his ministry, etc.*

The two points in that pamphlet, which it is said the prosecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, first, where the author mentions the penner of the king's answer. *First*, it is well known his majesty is not master of the *English* tongue; and therefore it is necessary that some other person should be employed to pen what he hath to say, or write in that language. *Secondly*, his majesty's answer is not in the first person, but in the third. It is not said, *WE ARE CONCERNED, OR OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS*; but *HIS MAJESTY is concerned, and his ROYAL PREDECESSORS*. By which it is plain, these are properly not the words of his majesty; but supposed to be taken from him, and transmitted hither by one of his ministers. *Thirdly*, it will be easily seen, that the author of the pamphlet delivers his sentiments upon this particular with the utmost caution and respect, as any impartial reader will observe.

The second paragraph, which it is said will be taken notice of as a motive to find the bill, is what the author says of *Ireland's* being a dependent kingdom: he explains all the dependence he knows of, which is a law made in *Ireland*, whereby it is enacted, that *whoever is king of England shall be king of Ireland*. Before this explanation be condemned, and the bill found upon it, it would be proper that some lawyers should fully inform the jury what other law there is, either statute or common, for this *dependency*; and if there be no law, there is no transgression.

The *fourth* thing very maturely to be considered by the jury, is, what influence their finding the bill may have upon the kingdom: the people in general find no fault in the *Drapier's* last book, any more than in the three former; and therefore when

they hear it is condemned by a grand-jury of *Dublin*, they will conclude it is done in favour of *Wood's* coin; they will think we of this town have changed our minds, and intend to take those half-pence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to stand out: so that the question comes to this, Which will be of the worst consequence? to let pass one or two expressions, at the worst only unwary, in a book written for the publick service; or to leave a free open passage for *Wood's* brads to over-run us, by which we shall be undone for ever.

The *fifth* thing to be considered is, that the members of the grand-jury being merchants and principal shopkeepers can have no suitable temptation offered them, as a recompence for the mischief they will do, and suffer by letting in this coin; nor can be at any loss or danger by rejecting the bill. They do not expect any employments in the state, to make up in their own private advantages by the destruction of their country; whereas those, who go about to *advise, entice, or threaten* them to find that bill, have great employments which they have a mind to keep, or to get *greater*; as it was likewise the case of all those who signed the proclamation to have the author prosecuted. And therefore it is known, that his grace the lord archbishop of *Dublin*, so renowned for his piety, and wisdom, and love of his country, absolutely refused to condemn the book or the author.

Lastly, it ought to be considered, what consequence the finding the bill may have upon a poor man, perfectly innocent; I mean the printer. A lawyer may pick out expressions, and make them liable to exception, where no other man is able to find any. But how can it be suppos'd that an ignorant printer can be such a *critick*? He knew the author's design was honest, and approved by the whole kingdom: he advised with friends, who told him there was no harm in the book, and he could see none himself: it was sent him in an unknown hand; but the same in which he received the three former. He and his wife have offered to take
their

their oaths, that they knew not the author. And therefore to find a bill, that may bring punishment upon the innocent, will appear *very hard*, to say no worse. For it will be impossible to find the author, unless he will please to discover himself; although I wonder he ever concealed his name: but I suppose, what he did at first out of modesty, he continues to do out of prudence. God protect us and him.

I will conclude all with a fable ascribed to *Demosthenes*: he had served the people of *Athens* with great fidelity in the station of an *orator*; when upon a certain occasion apprehending to be delivered over to his enemies, he told the *Athenians*, his countrymen, the following story: Once upon a time the *wolves* desired a league with the *sheep* upon this condition; that the cause of strife might be taken away, which was the *shepherds* and *mastiffs*: this being granted, the *wolves* without all fear made havock of the *sheep*.

November 11, 1724.

Copies of this paper were distributed to every person of the grand-jury the evening before the bill was to be exhibited, who probably for the reasons contained in it refused to find the bill, upon which the lord chief justice *Whitshed*, who had presided at a former prosecution of the dean's printer * discharged them in a rage. The following extract was soon after published to shew the illegality of this proceeding, and the next grand-jury that was empannelled made the subsequent presentment against all the abettors of *Wood's* project. See letter to lord *Molesworth*, page 165 of this vol.

* See the note prefixed to the Proposal for the sole use of Irish manufactures.

AN
E X T R A C T

From a B o o k, entituled

*An exact Collection of the Debates of the House
of Commons, held at Westminster, Oct. 21,
1680, pag. 150.*

RESOLUTIONS of the House of Commons in *England*,
Nov. 13, 1680.

SEVERAL persons being examined about the dismissing a
grand-jury in *Middlesex*, the house came to the following *reso-*
lutions :

Resolved, that the discharging of a grand-jury by any judge,
before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are
under their consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, ille-
gal, destructive to publick justice, a manifest violation of his
oath, and is a means to subvert the fundamental laws of this
kingdom.

Resolved, that a committee be appointed to examine the pro-
ceedings of the judges in *Westminster-hall*; and report the same,
with their opinion herein, to this house.

T H E

THE
PRESENTMENT

OF THE
GRAND-JURY

OF THE
County of the City of *Dublin*.

WHEREAS several great quantities of base metal coined, commonly called *Wood's* half-pence, have been brought into the port of *Dublin*, and lodg'd in several houses of this city, with an intention to make them pass clandestinely among his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; notwithstanding the addresses of both houses of parliament, and the privy-council, and the declarations of most of the corporations of this city against the said coin: And whereas his majesty has been graciously pleased to leave his loyal subjects of this kingdom at liberty to take or refuse the said half-pence,

We the *grand-jury* of the county of the city of *Dublin*, this *Michaelmas term* 1724, having entirely at heart his majesty's interest, and the welfare of our country, and being thoroughly sensible of the great discouragements which trade hath suffered by the apprehensions of the said coin, whereof we have already felt the dismal effects; and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his majesty's revenue, and the ruin of us and our posterity, do *present* all such persons as have attempted, or shall endeavour by fraud, or otherwise, to impose the said half-pence upon us, contrary to his majesty's most gracious intentions, as enemies to his majesty's government, and to the safety, peace, and welfare of all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; whose affections have been so eminently distinguished by

by their zeal to his illustrious family before his happy accession to the throne, and by their continued loyalty ever since.

As we do, with all just gratitude, acknowledge the services of all such *patriots* as have been eminently *zealous* for the interest of his majesty and this country in detecting the fraudulent imposition of the said *Wood*, and preventing the passing his base coin; so we do, at the same time, declare our abhorrence and detestation of all reflections on his majesty and his government; and that we are ready with our lives and fortunes to defend his most sacred majesty against the *pretender*, and all his majesty's open and secret enemies both at home and abroad.

Given under our hands at the grand-jury chamber, this
28th of *November*, 1724.

<i>George Forbes,</i>	<i>David Tew,</i>
<i>William Empson,</i>	<i>Thomas How,</i>
<i>Nathaniel Pearson,</i>	<i>John Jones,</i>
<i>Joseph Nuttall,</i>	<i>James Brown,</i>
<i>William Aston,</i>	<i>Charles Lyndon,</i>
<i>Stearn Tighe,</i>	<i>Jerom Bredin,</i>
<i>Richard Walker,</i>	<i>John Sican,</i>
<i>Edmond French,</i>	<i>Anthony Brunton,</i>
<i>John Vereilles,</i>	<i>Thomas Gaven,</i>
<i>Philip Pearson,</i>	<i>Daniel Elwood,</i>
<i>Thomas Robins,</i>	<i>John Brunet.</i>
<i>Richard Dawson,</i>	

A
LETTER
TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
Lord Viscount MOLESWORTH.

Written in the Year 1724.

They compassed me about also with words of deceit, and fought against me without a cause.

For my love they are my adversaries; but I give my self unto prayer.

And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love. *Psal. cix. 3. 4. 5.*

Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; lest at any time thou fear the person of the mighty, and lay a stumbling block in the way of thy uprightness.

Offend not against the multitude of a city, and then thou shalt not cast thy self down among the people.

Bind not one sin upon another, for in one thou shalt not be unpunished. *Ecclus vii. 6. 7. 8.*

*Non jam prima peto Mnestheus, neque vincere certo:
Quamquam O! Sed superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti.*

N

DI

LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

LORD VISCOUNT MORTON

Written in the Year 1734

I have the honour to receive your letter of the 10th inst. and beg to assure you that I have the pleasure to receive it.

I have the pleasure to receive your letter of the 10th inst. and beg to assure you that I have the pleasure to receive it.

I have the pleasure to receive your letter of the 10th inst. and beg to assure you that I have the pleasure to receive it.

I have the pleasure to receive your letter of the 10th inst. and beg to assure you that I have the pleasure to receive it.

I have the pleasure to receive your letter of the 10th inst. and beg to assure you that I have the pleasure to receive it.

I have the pleasure to receive your letter of the 10th inst. and beg to assure you that I have the pleasure to receive it.

Yours

Wm. Pitt

D I R E C T I O N S

TO THE

P R I N T E R.

Mr. Harding,

*W*HEN I sent you my former papers, I cannot say I intended you either good or hurt; and yet you have happened through my means to receive both. I pray God deliver you from any more of the latter, and increase the former. Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is of all others the most unfortunately circumstantiated; for as you deal in the most worthless kind of trash, the penny productions of pennyless scriblers; so you often venture your liberty, and sometimes your lives, for the purchase of half a crown; and, by your own ignorance, are punished for other mens actions.

I am afraid, you in particular think you have reason to complain of me for your own and your wife's confinement in prison, to your great expence, as well as hardship; and for a prosecution still impending. But I will tell you, Mr. Harding, how that matter stands. Since the press hath lain under so strict an inspection, those who have a mind to inform the world, are become so cautious as to keep themselves, if possible, out of the way of danger. My custom therefore is to dictate to a prentice, who can write in a feigned hand; and what is written we send to your house by a black-guard boy. But, at the same time I do assure you upon my reputation, that I never did send you any thing for which I thought you could possibly be called to an account. And you will be my witness, that I always desired you by a letter to take some good advice before you ventured to print; because I knew the dexterity of dealers in the law at finding out something to fasten on, where no

evil is meant. I am told indeed, that you did accordingly consult several very able persons; and even some, who afterwards appeared against you: to which I can only answer; that you must either change your advisers, or determinè to print nothing that comes from a drapier.

I desire you will send the inclosed letter directed to my lord viscount Moleworth, at his house at Brackdenstown, near Swords: but I would have it sent printed for the convenience of his lordship's reading; because this counterfeit hand of my prentice is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publish it, I would have you first get it read over by some notable lawyer: I am assured, you will find enough of them, who are friends to the drapier, and will do it without a fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford after all your expences. For although I have taken so much care, that I think it impossible to find a topick out of the following papers for sending you again to prison, yet I will not venture to be your guarantee.

This ensuing letter contains only a short account of myself, and an humble apology for my former pamphlets, especially the last; with little mention of Mr. Wood, or his half-pence; because I have already said enough upon that subject, until occasion shall be given for new fears; and in that case you may perhaps hear from me again. I am

your friend and servant,

From my shop in St. Francis-
street, Dec. 14, 1724.

M. B.

P. S. For want of intercourse between you and me, which I never will suffer*, your people are apt to make very gross errors in the press, which I desire you will provide against.

* The copies were always sent to the press by some obscure messenger, who never knew the person from whom he received them, but gave them in at a window. The amanuensis only was trusted, to whom about two years after the author gave an employment of 40*l.* a year as a reward for his fidelity.

To

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
Lord Viscount MOLESWORTH,

At his house at *Brackdenstown* near *Swords*.

My Lord,

I Reflect too late on the maxim of common observers, that those, who meddle in matters out of their calling, will have reason to repent; which is now verified in me: for, by engaging in the trade of a writer I have drawn upon my self the displeasure of the government, signified by a *proclamation* promising a reward of three hundred pounds to the first *faithful* subject, who shall be able and inclined to *inform* against me; to which I may add, the *laudable zeal and industry* of my lord chief-justice *Whitshed* in his endeavours to discover so dangerous a person. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly cause to do so; and the common observation still stands good.

It will sometimes happen, I know not how, in the course of human affairs, that a man shall be made liable to *legal* animadversions, where he hath nothing to answer for either to *God* or his *country*; and condemned at *Westminster-hall*, for what he will never be charged with at the *day of judgment*.

After strictly examining my own heart, and consulting some divines of great reputation, I cannot accuse myself of any * *malice* or *wickedness* against the publick; of any *designs* to sow *sedition*; of *reflecting* on the king and his ministers; or of endeavouring to *alienate* the affections of the people of this kingdom from those of England. All I can charge my self with, is a weak attempt to

* Articles mentioned in the indictment and proclamation.

serve

serve a nation in danger of destruction by a most wicked and malicious projector, without waiting until I were called to its assistance. Which attempt, however it may perhaps give me the title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will never lie a burthen upon my conscience. God knows whether I may not, with all my caution, have already run my self into a second danger by offering thus much in my own vindication. For I have heard of a judge, who upon the criminal's *appeal* to the *dreadful day of judgment*, told him, he had incurred a *premunire* for *appealing to a foreign jurisdiction*: and of another in *Wales*, who severely check'd the prisoner for offering the same plea; taxing him with reflecting on the court by such a comparison; because *comparisons were odious*.

But, in order to make some excuse for being more speculative than others of my condition, I desire your lordship's pardon, while I am doing a very foolish thing; which is to give you some little account of my self.

I was bred at a free-school, where I acquired some little knowledge in the *latin tongue*. I served my apprenticeship in *London*, and there set up for my self with good success; until by the *death of some friends, and misfortunes of others*, I returned into this kingdom; and began to employ my thoughts in cultivating the *woollen manufacture* through all its branches; wherein I met with great discouragement, and powerful opposers, whose objections appeared to me very strange and singular. They argued, that the people of *England* would be offended, if our manufactures were brought to equal theirs: and even some of the *weaving* trade were my enemies; which I could not but look upon as *absurd* and *unnatural*. I remember your lordship at that time did me the honour to come into my shop, where I shewed you * a piece of *black and white stuff* just sent from the *dyer*; which you were pleased to approve of, and be my customer for.

* By this is meant, the *Proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures*.

However,

However, I was so mortified, that I resolved for the future to sit quietly in my shop, and deal in *common goods*, like the rest of my brethren; until it happened some months ago, considering with my self, that the *lower and poorer sort of people* wanted a *plain, strong coarse stuff* to defend them against cold easterly winds, which then blew very fierce and blasting for a long time together; I contrived one on purpose, which sold very well all over the kingdom, and preserved many thousands from *agues*. I then made a † *second* and a *third* kind of *stuffs* for the *gentry*, with the same success; infomuch, that an *ague* hath hardly been heard of for some time.

This incited me so far, that I ventured upon a ‡ *fourth* piece made of the best *Irish* wool I could get; and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the best *lord* or *judge* of the land. But of late some *great folks* complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a *shuddering in their limbs*, and have thrown it off in a rage, cursing to hell the poor *drapier*, who invented it: so that I am determined never to *work for persons of quality* again; except for your *lordship* and a *very few more*.

I assure your lordship upon the word of an honest citizen, that I am not richer, by the value of one of Mr. *Wood's* half-pence, with the sale of all the several *stuffs* I have contrived: for, I give the whole profit to the *dyers* and *pressers* *. And therefore I hope you will please to believe, that no other motive, besides the love of my country, could engage me to busy my head and hands to the loss of my time, and the gain of nothing but *vexation* and *ill will*.

I have now in hand one *piece of stuff* to be woven on purpose for your lordship; although I might be ashamed to offer it to you, after I have confessed, that it will be made only from the †

† The *drapier's* three first letters.

‡ The fourth letter, against which the proclamation was issued.

* Printers.

† Meaning the present letter.

shreds and remnants of the wool employed in the former. However I shall work it up as well as I can; and at worst, you need only give it among your tenants.

I am very sensible, how ill your lordship is like to be entertained with the pedantry of a *drapier* in the terms of his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when you find me entering again, although very sparingly, into an affair of state? for such is now grown the controversy with Mr. *Wood*, if some great lawyers are to be credited. And as it often happens at play, that men begin with *farthings*, and go on to gold, till some of them lose their estates and die in jail: so it may possibly fall out in my case, that by *playing* too long with Mr. *Wood's* half-pence, I may be drawn in to pay a *fine* double to the reward for *betraying* me; be sent to prison, and *not be delivered thence until I shall have paid the uttermost farthing.*

There are, my lord, three sorts of persons, with whom I am resolved never to dispute: a *highway-man* with a pistol at my breast; a *troop of dragoons*, who come to plunder my house; and a *man of the law*, who can make a merit of accusing me. In each of these cases, *which are almost the same*, the best method is to *keep out of the way*; and the next best is to *deliver your money, surrender your house, and confess nothing.*

I am told, that the two points in my last letter, from which an occasion of offence hath been taken, are, where I mention his majesty's answer to the address of the house of lords upon Mr. *Wood's* patent; and where I discourse upon *Ireland's* being a *dependent kingdom*. As to the former, I can only say, that I have treated it with the utmost respect and caution; and I thought it necessary to shew where *Wood's* patent differed in many essential parts from all others, that ever had been granted; because the contrary had for want of due information been so strongly and so largely asserted. As to the other, of *Ireland's dependency*; I confess to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to understand

understand what it meant. This gave me the curiosity to enquire among several eminent lawyers, who professed they knew nothing of the matter. I then turned over all the statutes of both kingdoms without the least information, further than an *Irish* act, that I quoted, of the 33d of *Henry VIII.* uniting *Ireland* to *England* under one king. I cannot say, I was *sorry* to be disappointed in my search, because it is certain, I could be contented to depend only upon *God* and my prince, and the laws of my own country, after the manner of other nations. But since my betters are of a different opinion, and desire further dependencies, I shall outwardly submit; yet still insisting in my own heart upon the exception I made of *M. B. drapier*. Indeed that hint was borrowed from an idle story I had heard in *England*, which perhaps may be common and beaten; but because it insinuates neither treason nor sedition, I will just barely relate it.

Some hundred years ago, when the peers were so great that the commons were looked upon as little better than their dependents, a bill was brought in for making some new additions to the power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one *Mr. Drue*, a member of the house stood up, and said, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it pass; but however, for some reasons best known to himself, he desired that a clause might be inserted for excepting the family of the *Drues*. The oddness of the proposition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out.

Whether I were mistaken, or went too far in examining the dependency, must be left to the impartial judgment of the world, as well as to the courts of judicature; although indeed not in so effectual and decisive a manner. But to affirm, as I hear some do, in order to countenance a fearful and servile spirit, that this point did not belong to my subject, is a false and foolish objection. There were several scandalous reports industriously spread by *Wood* and his accomplices, to discourage all opposition against
O his

his infamous project. They gave it out, that we were prepared for a *rebellion*; that we disputed the king's *prerogative*, and were shaking off our *dependency*. The first went so far, and obtained so much belief against the most visible demonstrations to the contrary, that a *great person* of this kingdom, now in *England*, sent over such an account of it to his friends, as would make any good subject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore necessary to treat that calumny as it deserved. Then I proved by an invincible argument, that we could have no intention to dispute his majesty's *prerogative*; because the *prerogative* was not concerned in the question; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing, that *copper is not money*. And lastly, to clear us from the imputation of shaking off our *dependency*, I shewed wherein I thought, and shall ever think, this *dependence* consisted; and cited the statute above mentioned made in *Ireland*; by which it is enacted, that *whoever is king of England, shall be king of Ireland*; and that the two kingdoms shall be *for ever knit together under one king*. This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our *dependency*; because it was altogether out of our power: for surely no king of *England* will ever consent to the repeal of this statute.

But upon this article I am charged with a heavier accusation. It is said I *went too far*, when I declared, that *if ever the pretender should come to be fixed upon the throne of England (which God forbid) I would so far venture to transgress this statute, that I would lose the last drop of my blood, before I would submit to him as king of Ireland*.

This I hear on all sides is the strongest and weightiest objection against me; and which hath given the most offence; that I should be so bold to declare against a direct statute; and that any motive, how strong soever, could make me reject a king, whom *England* should receive. Now, if in defending my self from this accusation I should freely confess, that I *went too far*; that
the

the expression was very indiscreet, although occasioned by my zeal for his present majesty, and his protestant line in the house of *Hanover*; that I shall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgment and sorrow for my error will be some attonement, and a little soften the hearts of my powerful adversaries: I say, if I should offer such a defence as this, I do not doubt but some people would wrest it to an ill meaning by a spiteful interpretation. And therefore, since I cannot think of any other answer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but still without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your lordship a secret, wherein I fear you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore please to know, that this habit of writing and discoursing, wherein I unfortunately differ from *almost* the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more than I could wish, was acquired during my apprenticeship in *London*, and a long residence there after I had set up for my self. Upon my return and settlement here, I thought I had only *changed one country of freedom for another*. I had been long conversing with the writings of your * lordship, Mr. *Locke*, Mr. *Molineux*, colonel *Sidney*, and other dangerous authors, who talk of *liberty as a blessing, to which the whole race of mankind hath an original title; whereof nothing but unlawful force can divest them*. I knew a great deal of the several *Gothick* institutions in *Europe*; and by what incidents and events they came to be destroyed: and I ever thought it the most uncontrouled and universally agreed maxim, that *freedom consists in a people's being governed by laws made with their own consent; and slavery in the contrary*. I have been likewise told, and believe it to be true, that *liberty* and *property* are words of known use and signification in this kingdom; and the very lawyers pretend to un-

* He published a book in the reign of king *William III.* entitled the State of *Denmark*, with a large preface.

derstand, and have them often in their mouths. These were the errors, which have misled me; and to which alone I must impute the severe treatment I have received. But I shall in time grow wiser, and learn to consider my *driver*, the *road I am in*, and *with whom I am yoked*. This I will venture to say; that the boldest and most obnoxious words I ever delivered, would in *England* have only exposed me as a stupid fool, who went to prove that *the sun shone in a clear summer's day*: and I have witnesses ready to depose, that your lordship hath said and writ fifty times worse; and, what is still an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and stronger arguments: so that as politicks run, I do not know a person of more exceptionable principles than yourself: and if ever I shall be discovered, I think you will be bound in honour to pay my fine, and support me in prison; or else I may chance to *inform* against you by way of *reprisal*.

In the mean time I beg your lordship to receive my confession; that if there be any such thing as a *dependency* of *Ireland* upon *England*, otherwise than as I have explained it, either by the *law* of *God*, of *nature*, of *reason*, of *nations*, or of the *land*, (which I shall die rather than grant) then was the *proclamation* against me the most *merciful* that ever was put out; and instead of accusing me as *malicious*, *wicked*, and *seditious*, it might have been directly as guilty of *high treason*.

All I desire is, that the cause of my country against Mr. *Wood* may not suffer by any inadvertency of mine. Whether *Ireland* depends upon *England*, or only upon *God*, the *king*, and the *law*; I hope no man will assert, that it *depends* upon Mr. *Wood*. I should be heartily sorry that this *commendable* spirit against me should accidentally (and what, *I hope*, was never intended) strike a damp upon that spirit in all ranks and corporations of men against the desperate and ruinous design of Mr. *Wood*. Let my countrymen blot out those parts in my last letter, which they dislike; and let no *rust* remain on my *sword* to cure the wounds I have given
to

to our most mortal enemy. When Sir *Charles Sidley* was taking the oaths, where several things were to be *renounced*, he said, he loved *renouncing*; asked if any more were to be *renounced*; for he was ready to *renounce* as much as they pleased. Although I am not so thorough a *renouncer*, yet let me have but good city *security* against this pestilent coinage, and I shall be ready not only to *renounce* every syllable in all my four letters, but to deliver them cheerfully with my own *hands* into *those* of the common *hangman* to be burnt with no better company than the *coiner's effigies*, if any part of it hath escaped out of the *secular hands* of my faithful friends, the common people.

But, whatever the sentiments of *some people* may be, I think it is agreed that many of those, who *subscribed* against me, are on the side of a vast majority in the kingdom, who opposed Mr. *Wood**: and it was with great satisfaction, that I observed some *right honourable names* very *amicably* joined with my own at the bottom of a *strong declaration* against him and his coin. But if the admission of it among us be *already determined*, the *worthy* person, who is to *betray* me, ought in prudence to do it with all convenient speed; or else it may be difficult to find three hundred pounds *sterling* for the discharge of his *hire*, when the publick shall have lost five hundred thousand, if there be so much in the nation; besides four fifths of its annual income for ever.

I am told by lawyers, that in quarrels between man and man it is of much weight, which of them gave the first provocation, or struck the first blow. It is manifest that Mr. *Wood* hath done both: and therefore I should humbly propose to have him first *hanged*, and his *dröss* thrown into the sea: after which the *dra-*

* As the *Drapier's* letters were written expressly against *Wood's* half-pence, it might well be imagined that a proclamation against the author would produce an opinion, that to oppose *Wood's* half-pence was illegal, and subjected the party to pains and penalties: to prevent so fatal a mistake it is here remarked, that many of those,

who subscribed the proclamation, were yet strenuous opposers of *Wood's* project. This distinction is yet more explicit in the letter to lord *Middleton*, which was written soon after the fourth letter, and intended to be the fifth, though for some reasons deferred. — See the letter to lord *Middleton* and the note prefixed.

pier will be ready to stand his trial. *It must needs be that offences come, but wo unto him by whom the offence cometh.* If Mr. Wood had held his *band*, every body else would have held their *tongues*; and then there would have been little need of *pamphlets, juries, or proclamations* upon this occasion. The provocation must needs have been very great, which could stir up an obscure, indolent *drapier* to become an *author*. One would almost think, the very *stones* in the street would *rise* up in such a cause; and I am not sure they will not *do so* against Mr. Wood, if ever he comes within their reach. It is a known story of the dumb boy, whose tongue forced a passage for speech by the horror of seeing a dagger at his father's throat. This may lessen the wonder, that a tradesman hid in privacy and silence should *cry out*, when the life and being of his political *mother* are attempted before his face, and by so infamous a wretch.

But in the mean time Mr. Wood the *destroyer* of a kingdom walks about in triumph; (unless it be true, that he is in jail for debt) while he who endeavoured to *assert the liberty of his country* is forced to *hide his head* for occasionally dealing in a matter of *controversy*. However, I am not the first, who hath been condemned to death for *gaining a great victory* over a powerful enemy by disobeying for *once* the strict orders of military discipline.

I am now resolved to follow (after the usual proceeding of mankind, because it is too late) the advice given me by a certain *dean* *. He shewed the mistake I was in, of trusting to the general good will of the people; that I had succeeded hitherto better than could be expected; but that some unfortunate *circumstantial lapse* would probably bring me within the reach of *power*: that my good intentions would be no security against *those, who watched every motion of my pen in the bitterness of my soul.* He produced an instance of a person as innocent, as disinterested,

* The author is supposed to mean himself.

and

and as well meaning as my self; who had written † a very reasonable and inoffensive treatise, exhorting the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures; for which however the printer was prosecuted with the utmost virulence; the *jury sent back nine times*; and the man given up to the mercy of the court. The *dean* further observed, that I was in a manner left alone to stand the *battle*; while others, who had ten thousand times better talents than a *drapier*, were so prudent as to lie still; and perhaps thought it no unpleasant amusement to look on with safety, while another was giving them *diversion* at the hazard of his liberty and fortune; and thought they made a sufficient recompence by a little applause: whereupon he concluded with a short story of a *Jew* at *Madrid*; who being condemned to the fire on account of his religion, a crowd of school-boys following him to the stake, and apprehending they might lose their *sport* if he should happen to recant, would often *clap him on the back*, and cry, *Sta firme Moyse* (*Moses continue stedfast.*)

I allow this gentleman's advice to have been very good, and his observations just; and in one respect my condition is worse than that of the *Jew*: for *no recantation will save me*. However, it should seem by *some late proceedings*, that my state is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the steadiness of *two impartial grand-juries*; which hath confirmed in me an opinion I have long entertained; that, as philosophers say, *virtue is seated in the middle*; so in another sense, the little *virtue* left in the world is chiefly to be found among the *middle* rank of mankind, who are neither *allured* out of her paths by *ambition*, nor *driven* by *poverty*.

Since the *proclamation* occasioned by my last letter, and a *due* preparation for proceeding against me in a court of justice, there have been two printed papers clandestinely spread about; where-

† The author means himself again; in the discourse advising the people of *Ireland* to wear their own manufactures.

of no man is able to trace the original, further than by *conjecture*; which, with its usual charity, lays them to my account. The former is entitled, *Seasonable advice*, and appears to have been intended for information of the grand-jury, upon the supposition of a bill to be prepared against that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings, in the year 1680; containing an angry resolution of the house of commons in *England* against *dissolving grand-juries*. As to the former, your lordship will find it to be the work of a more artful hand, than that of a common *drapier*. It hath been censured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiassed; and for that reason *it is manifest*, that no *judge* was ever known, either *upon* or *off* the bench, either by *himself* or his *dependents*, to use the *least insinuation*, that might possibly affect the passions or interests of any one single *jurymen*, much less of a whole *jury*; whereof every man *must* be *convinced*, who will just give himself the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: so as it is amazing to think, what a number of *upright judges* there have been in both kingdoms for above *sixty years past*; which, considering how long they held their offices *during pleasure*, as they *still do among us**, I account next to a *miracle*.

As to the other paper, I must confess it is a sharp censure from an *English* house of commons against *dissolving grand-juries* by any judge before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration and not presented, as arbitrary, illegal, destructive to publick justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and as a means to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

However, the publisher seems to have been mistaken in what he aimed at. For whatever *dependance* there may be of *Ireland* up-

* Perhaps this may account for *Whitshed's* conduct. See the notes prefixed to the *Proposal for the sole use of Irish manufactures*, and superadded to the *Seasonable advice to the grand-jury*.

on *England*, I hope he would not insinuate, that the proceedings of a *lord chief-justice* in *Ireland* must depend upon a resolution of an *English* house of commons. Besides that resolution, although it were levelled against a particular lord chief-justice, sir *William Scroggs*, yet the occasion was directly contrary. For *Scroggs* dissolved the grand-jury of *London* for fear they should present; but ours in *Dublin* was dissolved, because they would not present; which wonderfully alters the case. And therefore a second grand-jury supplied that defect by making a presentment † that pleased the whole kingdom. However, I think it is agreed by all parties, that both the one and the other jury behaved themselves in such a manner, as ought to be remembered to their honour, while there shall be any regard left among us for virtue or publick spirit.

I am confident, your lordship will be of my sentiments in one thing; that some short plain authentick tract might be published for the information both of *petty* and *grand-juries*, how far their power reacheth, and where it is limited; and that a printed copy of such a treatise might be deposited in every court to be consulted by the jurymen, before they consider of their verdict; by which abundance of inconveniences would be avoided, whereof innumerable instances might be produced from former times; because I will say nothing of the present.

I have read somewhere of an *Eastern* king, who put a judge to death for an iniquitous sentence; and ordered his *hide to be stuffed into a cushion*, and placed upon the tribunal for the son to sit on, who was preferred to his father's office. I fancy, such a memorial might not have been unuseful to a son of sir *William Scroggs*, and that both he and his successors would often wriggle in their seats, as long as the cushion lasted: I wish the relator had told us what number of such cushions there might be in that country.

I cannot but observe to your lordship, how nice and dangerous

† See the presentment immediately preceeding this letter.

a point it is grown for a private person to inform the people, even in an affair, where the publick interest and safety are so highly concerned, as that of Mr. *Wood*; and this in a country, where *loyalty is woven into the very hearts of the people*, seems a little extraordinary. Sir *William Scroggs* was the first, who introduced that *commendable acuteness into the courts of judicature*; but how far this practice hath been imitated by his successors, or *strained upon occasion*, is out of my knowledge. When pamphlets *unpleasing to the ministry* were presented as libels, he would order the offensive paragraphs to be read before him; and said it was strange, that the judges and lawyers of the *king's-bench* should be duller than all the people of *England*: and he was often so very happy in applying the initial letters of names, and expounding *dubious hints*, (the two common expedients among writers of that class for escaping the law) that he discovered much *more* than ever the authors intended; as many of them, or their printers, found to their cost. If such methods are to be followed in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the subject of Mr. *Wood*, I defy any man of fifty times my understanding and caution to avoid being *entrapped*: unless he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments and computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend *Harding* lies under this *dilemma*; either to let my *learned works* hang for ever a drying upon his lines; or venture to publish them at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your lordship where the difficulty lies: it is true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to refuse this coin of Mr. *Wood*; but at the same time it is equally true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to receive it. Now, it is *barely possible*, that the ministers in *England* may not suppose the consequences of uttering that brass among us to be so ruinous as we apprehend; because perhaps, if they understood it in that light, they would in
common

common humanity use their credit with his majesty for saving *a most loyal kingdom from destruction*. But as long as it shall please those great persons to think that coin will not be *so very* pernicious to us, we lie under the disadvantage of being censured as obstinate in not complying with a royal patent. Therefore nothing remains but to make use of that *liberty*, which the *king* and the *laws* have left us, by continuing to refuse this coin; and by frequent remembrances to keep up that spirit raised against it, which otherwise may be apt to flag, and perhaps in time to sink altogether. For, any publick order against receiving or uttering Mr. *Wood's* half-pence is not reasonably to be expected in this kingdom without directions from *England*; which I think no body presumes, or is so sanguine to hope.

But to confess the truth, my lord, I begin to grow weary of my office as a writer; and could heartily wish it were devolved upon my *brethren*, the makers of *songs* and *ballads*, who perhaps are the best qualified at present to gather up the gleanings of this controversy. As to my self, it hath been my misfortune to begin, and pursue it upon a wrong foundation. For, having detected the frauds and falsehoods of this vile impostor *Wood* in every part, I foolishly *disdained* to have recourse to *whining*, *lamenting*, and *crying for mercy*; but rather chose to *appeal* to *law* and *liberty*, and *the common rights of mankind*, without considering the *climate* I was in.

Since your last residence in *Ireland*, I frequently have taken my nag to ride about your grounds; where I fancied my self to feel an air of *freedom* breathing round me; and I am glad the low condition of a tradesman did not qualify me to wait on you at your house; for then, I am afraid, my writings would not have escaped *severer censures*. But I have lately sold my nag, and honestly told his greatest fault, which was that of snuffing up the air about *Brackdenstown*; whereby he became such a lover of *liberty*, that I could scarce hold him in. I have likewise buried at

the bottom of a strong chest your lordship's writings under a heap of others, that treat of *liberty*; and spread over a *layer* or two of *Hobbs*, *Filmer*, *Bodin*, and many more authors of that stamp, to be readiest at hand, whenever I shall be disposed to take up a *new set* of principles in government. In the mean time I design quietly to look to my shop, and keep as far out of your lordship's influence as possible: and if you ever see any more of my writings on this subject, I promise you shall find them as innocent, as insipid, and without a sting, as what I have now offered you. But, if your lordship will please to give me an easy lease of some part of your estate in *Yorkshire*, thither will I carry my chest: and turning it upside down, resume my political reading where I left off; feed on plain homely fare, and live and die a free honest *English* farmer; but not without regret for leaving my countrymen under the dread of the brazen talons of Mr. *Wood*: my most loyal and innocent countrymen; to whom I owe so much for their good opinion of me, and my poor endeavours to serve them. I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

your lordship's most obedient

and most humble servant,

From my shop in

St. Francis-street,

Dec. 14, 1724.

M. B.

These papers (for the *sixth* and *seventh* letters were not published till long afterwards) prevailed, notwithstanding threats, prosecutions, and imprisonment, against all the influence of power and all the artifices of cunning: persons of every rank and every sect united with the *drapier* in the common cause, his health was a perpetual toast, and his effigies were displayed in every street; *Wood* was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his half-pence were totally suppressed.

By many passages in the following letter, and by the date Oct. 6, 1724. it appears to have been written soon after the proclamation against the *drapier* for his fourth letter, and before the jury had thrown out the bill of indictment. At this crisis perhaps the dean did not chuse to resume a character which was become obnoxious, and therefore wrote in his own: the original was signed with his name, though it appeared to have been obliterated by another hand: for some reason the publication of it was delayed, and it was first printed in an edition of the dean's works published at *Dublin* in 1735. This however is not the only reason why it is placed after the fifth letter, for the fifth letter appears to have been substituted in its stead, and not intended to follow it. The fourth letter, both in this and in the fifth is called the *last*, which could not have happened if both had been parts of the same series.

The reader will now easily account for those passages in the sixth, by which the prosecution against *Harding* appears to be depending, though in the fifth it is mentioned as past.

A

LETTER

TO THE .

LORD CHANCELLOR *MIDDLETON*.*

Written in the Year 1724.

My Lord,

I Desire you will consider me as a member, who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who speaks to a cause, when the matter hath been almost exhausted by those who spoke before.

I remember some months ago I was at your house upon a commission, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither not so much on account of the commission, as to ask you some questions concerning Mr. *Wood's* patent to coin half-pence for *Ireland*; where you very freely told me in a mixt company, how much you had been always against that wicked project †; which raised in me an esteem for you so far, that I went in a few days to make you a visit after many years intermission. I am likewise told, that your son wrote two letters from *London* (one of which I have seen) empowering those, to whom they were directed, to assure his friends, that whereas there was a malicious report spread of his engaging himself to Mr. *Walpole* for forty thousand pounds of *Wood's* coin to be received in *Ireland*, the said report was false

* He signed the proclamation against the *drapier*.

† Lord *Middleton*, though he signed the proclamation against the *drapier*, was yet an enemy to *Wood's* project, as appears by several passages in this letter.

and

and groundless; and he had never discoursed with that minister on this subject, nor would ever give his consent to have one farthing of the said coin current here. And although it be long since I have given my self the trouble of conversing with people of titles or stations; yet I have been told by those, who can take up with such amusements, that there is not a considerable person of the kingdom scrupulous in any sort to declare his opinion. But all this is needless to alledge, when we consider, that the ruinous consequences of *Wood's* patent have been so strongly represented by both houses of parliament; by the privy-council; the lord mayor and aldermen of *Dublin*; by so many corporations; and the concurrence of the principal gentlemen in most counties at their quarter-sessions, without any regard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude from hence, that the currency of these half-pence would in the universal opinion of our people be utterly destructive to this kingdom; and consequently that it is every man's duty not only to refuse this coin himself, but as far as in him lies, to persuade others to do the like: and whether this be done in private or in print, is all a case; as no layman is forbidden to write, or to discourse upon religious or moral subjects, although he may not do it in a pulpit (at least in our church.) Neither is this an affair of state, until authority shall think fit to declare it so: or if you should understand it in that sense, yet you will please to consider, that I am not now preaching.

Therefore I do think it my duty, since the *drapier* will probably be no more heard of, so far to supply his place, as not to incur his fortune: for I have learnt from old experience, that there are times wherein a man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that preserving both those characters, I may be allowed by offering new arguments or enforcing old ones to refresh the memory of my fellow-subjects, and keep up that
good.

good spirit raised among them to preserve themselves from utter ruin by lawful means, and such as are permitted by his majesty.

I believe you will please to allow me two propositions: first, that we are a most loyal people; and secondly, that we are a free people, in the common acceptation of that word applied to a subject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did many years ago in discourse differ much in the presence of lord *Wharton* about the meaning of that word *liberty* with relation to *Ireland*. But if you will not allow us to be a free people; there is only another appellation left, which I doubt, my lord chief justice *Whitshed* would call me to account for, if I venture to bestow: for I observed (and I shall never forget upon what occasion) the device upon his coach to be *Libertas & natale solum*, at the very point of time when he was sitting in his court, and perjuring himself to betray both. *

Now, as for our loyalty to his present majesty; if it hath ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am sure it hath never been exceeded: and I am confident he hath not a minister in *England*, who could ever call it once in question; but that some hard rumours at least have been transmitted from t'other side the water, I suppose you will not doubt: and rumours of the severest kind; which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr. *Wood* and his emissaries: as if he endeavoured it should be thought, that our loyalty depended upon the test of refusing or taking his copper. Now, as I am sure you will admit us to be a loyal people; so you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from so gracious a king, that a loyal and free people can expect: among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one; that *Wood's* half-pence may never have entrance

* See the address to both houses of parliament, by M. B. drapier.

into

into this kingdom. And this we shall continue to *wish*, when we dare no longer express our wishes; although there were no such mortal as a *drapier* in the world.

I am heartily sorry, that any writer should in a cause so generally approv'd give occasion to the government and council to charge him with * paragraphs "highly reflecting upon his majesty and his ministers; tending to alienate the affections of his good subjects in *England* and *Ireland* from each other; and to promote sedition among the people." I must confess, that with many others I thought he meant well; although he might have the failing of better writers, to be not always fortunate in the manner of expressing himself.

However, since the *drapier* is but one man, I shall think I do a publick service by asserting, that the rest of my countrymen are wholly free from learning out of *his* pamphlets to reflect on the king or his ministers, and to breed sedition.

I solemnly declare, that I never once heard the least reflection cast upon the king on the subject of Mr. *Wood's* coin: for in many discourses on this matter, I do not remember his majesty's name to be so much as mentioned. As to the ministry in *England*, the only two persons hinted at were the duke of *Grafton* and Mr. *Walpole*: the former, as I have heard you and a hundred others affirm, declared, that he never saw the patent in favour of Mr. *Wood*, before it was passed, although he was then lord lieutenant: and therefore I suppose every body believes, that his grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ever since.

Mr. *Walpole* was indeed supposed to be understood by the letter *W.* in several news papers; where it is said that some expressions fell from him not very favourable to the people of *Ireland*; for the truth of which the kingdom is not to answer, any more than for the discretion of the publishers. You observe, the

* In the *drapier's* 4th letter.

drapier wholly clears Mr. *Walpole* of this charge by very strong arguments; and speaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myself to have been often present, where the company gave their opinion that Mr. *Walpole* favoured Mr. *Wood*'s projects, which I always contradicted; and for my own part never once opened my lips against that minister either in mixed or particular meetings; and my reason for this reservedness was; because it pleased him in the *queen*'s time, (I mean queen *Anne* of ever blessed memory) to make a speech directly against me by name in the house of commons, as I was told a very few minutes after in the court of *requests* by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great station here, (if any thing here may be called great) cannot be ignorant, that whoever is understood by publick voice to be chief minister, will among the general talkers share the blame, whether justly or no, of every thing that is disliked; which I could easily make appear in many instances from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the case of the † greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt minister I ever conversed with.

But, whatever unpleasing opinion some people might conceive of Mr. *Walpole* on account of those half-pence, I dare boldly affirm it was entirely owing to Mr. *Wood*. Many persons of credit come from *England* have affirmed to me and others, that they have seen letters under his hand full of arrogance and insolence towards *Ireland*, and boasting of his favour with Mr. *Walpole*; which is highly probable; because he reasonably thought it for his interest to spread such a report, and because it is the known talent of low and little spirits, to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.

Thus I have sufficiently justified the people of *Ireland* from learning any bad lesson out of the *drapier*'s pamphlets with re-

† Supposed to be the lord treasurer Oxford.

gard to his majesty and his ministers: and therefore, if those papers were intended to sow sedition among us, God be thanked the seeds have fallen upon a very improper soil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of *England* and *Ireland* from each other; I believe the *drapier*, whatever his intentions were, hath left that matter just as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in country as in town; and therefore take my self to be as well informed as most men in the dispositions of each people towards the other. By the people I understand here, only the bulk of the common people; and I desire no lawyer may distort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of industry and parsimony, that runs through the whole people of *England*, which added to the easiness of their rents makes them rich and sturdy. As to *Ireland*, they know little more of it than they do of *Mexico*; farther than that it is a country subject to the king of *England*, full of boggs, inhabited by wild *Irish papists*, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for *England* if this whole island were sunk into the sea: for they have a tradition, that every forty years there must be a rebellion in *Ireland*. I have seen the grossest suppositions pass upon them: that the *wild Irish* were taken in toys; but that in some time they would grow so tame, as to eat out of your hands: I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours your tenants at *Pepper-hara*, whether I had come from *Ireland* by sea: and upon the arrival of an *Irishman* to a country town, I have known crouds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.

A gentleman now in *Dublin* affirms, that passing some months ago through *Northampton*, and finding the whole town in a lurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations; upon asking the cause, he was told, it was for joy, that the *Irish* had submitted to receive *Wood's* half-pence. This, I think, plainly shews what

sentiments that large town hath of us; and how little they made it their own case; although they lie directly in our way to *London*, and therefore cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human shapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they consist either of *Irish papists*, who are as inconsiderable in point of power, as the women and children; or of *English protestants*, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may possibly sometimes complain when they think they are hardly used: however, I confess, I do not see that it is of any great consequence, how their personal affections stand to each other, while the sea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the same prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether those from *England* have reason to complain, when they come hither in pursuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of *Ireland* have reason to boast, when they go to *England* upon the same design?

My second proposition was, that we of *Ireland* are a free people: this, I suppose, you will allow, at least with certain limitations remaining in your own breast. However, I am sure it is not criminal to affirm; because the words *liberty* and *property*, as applied to the subject, are often mentioned in both houses of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below: from whence it must follow that the people of *Ireland* do, or ought to enjoy all the benefits of the common and statute law; such as to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own consent as represented in parliament, and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed, that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and silver; I do not see why any man should be hindered from cautioning his countrymen against this coin of *William Wood*; who is endeavouring by fraud to rob us of that property, which the laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the *drapier's* case in another light by supposing, that

that a person going into his shop should agree for thirty shillings worth of goods, and force the seller to take his payment in a parcel of copper-pieces intrinsically not worth above a crown: I desire to know whether the *drapier* would not be actually robbed of five and twenty shillings; and how far he could be said to be master of his property? The same question may be applied to rents and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatsoever.

Give me leave to do what the *drapier* hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it stands in the view of the world.

One *William Wood* Esq; and hardware-man obtains by fraud a patent in *England* to coin 108,000*l.* in copper to pass in *Ireland*, leaving us liberty to take or to refuse. The people here, in all sorts of bodies and representatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this coin: to justify these declarations they generally offer two reasons; first, because by the words of the patent they are left to their own choice; and secondly, because they are not obliged by law; so that you see there is, *Bellum atque virum*, a kingdom on one side, and *William Wood* on the other. And if Mr. *Wood* gets the victory at the expence of *Ireland's* ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thousand pounds (I mean by continuing, and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himself; I doubt, both present and future ages will at least think it a very singular scheme.

If this fact be truly stated, I must confess, I look upon it as my duty, so far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of decency, to warn my fellow-subjects as they value their king, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin; no not so much as one single half-penny. For if one single thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And

And while I shall be thus employed, I will never give my self leave to suppose that what I say can either offend my * *lord lieutenant*, whose person and great qualities I have always highly respected (as I am sure his excellency will be my witness) or the ministers in *England*, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less the *privy-council* here; who, as I am informed, did send an address to his majesty against Mr. *Wood's* coin; which if it be a mistake, I desire I may not be accused for a spreader of false news: but I confess, I am so great a stranger to affairs, that for any thing I know, the whole body of the council may since have been changed: and although I observed some of the very same names in a late declaration against that coin, which I saw subscribed to the proclamation against the *drapier*, yet possibly they may be different persons: for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue so.

In this controversy, where the reasoners on each side are divided by St. *George's* channel, his majesty's prerogative perhaps would not have been mentioned, if Mr. *Wood* and his advocates had not made it necessary by giving out, that the currency of his coin should be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuse this coin; but the fear of a proclamation brought along with it most dreadful apprehensions. It was therefore absolutely necessary for the *drapier* to remove this difficulty; and accordingly in one of his former pamphlets he produced invincible arguments, (wherever he picked them up) that the king's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter; since the law had sufficiently provided against any coin to be imposed on the subject, except gold and silver; and that copper is not money, but, as it hath been properly called, *nummorum famulus*.

The three former letters from the *drapier* having not received any publick censure, I look upon them to be without exception;

* *Lord Carteret, now earl Granville.*

and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often in order to keep up that spirit raised against this destructive coin of Mr. *Wood*: as for this last letter, against which a proclamation is issued; I shall only say, that I could wish it were stripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal; but being naturally somewhat slow of comprehension, no lawyer, and apt to believe the best of those, who profess good designs without any visible motive either of profit or honour; I might pore for ever, without distinguishing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greatest offence in this last letter † is, where the *drapier* affirms, that if a rebellion should prove so successful, as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of *England*, he would venture so far to transgress the *Irish* statute, which unites *Ireland* to *England* under one king, as to lose every drop of his blood to hinder him from being king of *Ireland*.

I shall not presume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would transgress a statute; and a statute of such importance: but with the most humble submission and desire of pardon for a very innocent mistake, I should be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be at least some small extenuation of his crime: for, in this I confess my self to think with the *drapier*.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections against that pamphlet; but I suppose, they will all appear at the prosecution of the *drapier*. And I think, whoever in his own conscience believes the said pamphlet to be *wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his majesty and his ministers*, etc. would do well to discover the author, (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers) although the reward of 300 *l.* had not been tacked to the discovery. I own, it would be a great satisfaction to me to hear the arguments not only of judges, but

† Letter iv. see the note prefixed to this letter.

of lawyers upon this case. Because you cannot but know, there often happens occasions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the bulk of the people should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves; and therefore it hath been the wisdom of the *English* parliaments to be very reserved in limiting the press. When a bill is debating in either house of parliament there, nothing is more usual, than to have the controversy handled by pamphlets on both sides, without the least animadversion upon the authors.

So here, in the case of Mr. *Wood* and his coin; since the two houses gave their opinion by addresss, how dangerous the currency of that copper would be to *Ireland*, it was without all question both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people should be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the sense to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular persons, to whom God hath given zeal and understanding sufficient for such an undertaking. Thus it happened in the case of that destructive project for a bank in *Ireland*, which was brought into parliament a few years ago; and it was allowed, that the arguments and writings of some without doors contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I should be heartily glad, if some able lawyers would prescribe the limits, how far a private man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon publick matters: because a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet stander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a publick error prevails, by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, hath some share in the publick; and therefore the care of the publick is in some degree every such man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wish to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer so much as to mention the prerogative; at least so far as to bring it into doubt upon any point
whatso-

whatsoever: I know it is often debated in *Westminster-hall*; and Sir *Edward Coke*, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that subject in their books.

Secondly, how far the prerogative extends to force coin upon the subject, which is not sterling; such as lead, brass, copper, mixt metal, shells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown shall think fit?

Thirdly, what is really and truly meant by that phrase of a *depending kingdom*, as applied to *Ireland*, and wherein that *dependency* consisteth?

Lastly, In what points relating to *liberty* and *property* the people of *Ireland* differ, or at least *ought* to differ, from those of *England*.

If these particulars were made so clear, that none could mistake them, it would be of infinite ease and use to the kingdom; and either prevent or silence all discontents.

My lord *Sommers*, the greatest man I ever knew of your robe, and whose thoughts of *Ireland* differed, as far as heaven and earth, from those of some others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the crown or the privileges of parliament should ever be liable to dispute in any single branch of either; by which means, he said, the publick often suffered great inconveniences, whereof he gave me several instances. I produce the authority of so eminent a person to justify my desires, that some high points might be cleared.

For want of such known ascertainment how far a writer may proceed in expressing his good wishes for his country, a person of the most innocent intentions may possibly by the oratory and comments of lawyers be charged with many crimes, which from his very soul he abhors; and consequently may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot among thieves in some stinking jayl, merely for mistaking the purlieus of the law. I have known in my life-

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time a printer prosecuted and convicted for publishing a * pamphlet, where the author's intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent as those of a martyr at his last prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, preach to the people under my inspection upon the subject of Mr. *Wood's* coin; and although I never heard that my sermon gave the least offence, as I am sure none was intended, yet, if it were now printed and published, I cannot say, I would insure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own person from those of a messenger.

I have heard the late chief justice *Holt* affirm, that in all criminal cases the most favourable interpretation should be put upon words, that they can possibly bear. You meet the same position asserted in many trials for the greatest crimes; though often very ill practised by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember at a trial in *Kent*, where sir *George Rook* was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer for the *defendant* brought off his client by alledging, that the words were not injurious; for knave in the old and true signification imported only a servant; and villain in *latin*, is *villicus*, which is no more than a man employed in country labour, or rather a bailly.

If sir *John Holt's* opinion were a standard maxim for all times and circumstances, any writer with a very small measure of discretion might easily be safe; but I doubt in practice it hath been frequently controlled, at least before his time: for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a passage of signior *Leti* an *Italian*; who being in *London*, busying himself with writing the history of *England*, told king *Charles* the second, that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving offence, but found it a thing impossible, although he should have been as wise as *Solomon*. The king answered, that if this were the case, he had better

* Supposed to be, A proposal for the universal use of *Irish* manufactures, written by the author.

employ his time in writing proverbs as *Salomon* did: but *Leti* lay under no publick necessity of writing; neither would *England* have been one half-penny the better or the worse, whether he writ or no.

This I mention, because I know it will readily be objected; what have private men to do with the publick? what call had a *drapier* to turn politician, to meddle in matters of state? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his shop; or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? he would then have been out of all danger of proclamations, and prosecutions. Have we not able magistrates and counsellors hourly watching over the publick-weal? All this may be true: and yet when the addresses from both houses of parliament against Mr. *Wood's* half-pence failed of success, if some pen had not been employed to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refusing that coin, to detect the fraud, the artifice, and insolence of the coiner, and to lay open the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the said coin, I might appeal to many hundred thousand people, whether any one of them would ever have had the courage or sagacity to refuse it.

If this copper should begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they, who give us the greatest apprehension, being easily frightened, and greedy to swallow mis-informations: for, if every man were wise enough to understand his own interest, which is every man's principal study, there would be no need of pamphlets upon this occasion: but as things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary from my duty to God, my king, and my country, to inform the people, that the proclamation lately issued against the *drapier* doth not in the least affect the case of Mr. *Wood* and his coin; but only refers to certain paragraphs in the *drapier's* last pamphlet*,

* The 4th letter.

(not immediately relating to his subject, nor at all to the merits of the cause) which the government was pleased to dislike; so that any man has the same liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this coin, which he had before: neither is any man obliged to believe, that those honourable persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable proclamation against the *drapier*, have at all changed their opinions with regard to Mr. *Wood*, or his coin.

Therefore concluding my self to be thus far upon a safe and sure foot, I shall continue upon any proper occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that spirit raised in the nation (whether the real author were a real *drapier* or no is little to the purpose) against this horrid design of Mr. *Wood*; at the same time carefully watching every stroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the publick censure of the world as a writer, not of my lord chief justice *Whitshed* as a criminal. Whenever an order shall come out by authority, forbidding all men upon the highest penalties to offer any thing in writing or discourse against Mr. *Wood*'s half-pence, I shall certainly submit. However, if that should happen, I am determined to be somewhat more than the last man in the kingdom to receive them; because I will never receive them at all: for although I know how to be silent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience against my conscience, and the publick safety.

I desire to put a case, which I think the *drapier* in some of his books hath put before me; although not so fully as it requires.

You know the copper half-pence in *England* are coined by the publick; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now suppose, that, instead of the publick coinage, a patent had been granted to some private, obscure person for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr. *Wood* is preparing in this; and all of it at least five times below the intrinsic value: the current money of *England* is reckon-
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ed to be twenty millions ; and ours under * five hundred thousand pounds : by this computation, as Mr. *Wood* hath power to give us 108,000 pounds ; so the patentee in *England* by the same proportion might circulate four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds ; besides as much more by stealth and counterfeits. I desire to know from you, whether the parliament might not have addressed upon such an occasion ; what success they probably would have had ; and how many *drapiers* would have risen to pester the world with pamphlets : yet that kingdom would not be so great a sufferer as ours in the like case ; because their cash would not be conveyed into foreign countries, but lie hid in the chests of cautious, thrifty men until better times. Then I desire for the satisfaction of the publick, that you will please to inform me, why this country is treated in so very different a manner in a point of such high importance ; whether it be on account of *Poining's* act ; of subordination ; dependence ; or any other term of art, which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

I am very sensible, that the good or ill success of Mr. *Wood* will affect you less than any person of consequence in the kingdom ; because I hear you are so prudent as to make all your purchases in *England* ; and truly so would I, if I had money, although I were to pay a hundred years purchase ; because I should be glad to possess a freehold, that could not be taken from me by any law, to which I did not give my own consent : and where I should never be in danger of receiving my rents in mixt copper at the loss of sixteen shillings in the pound. You can live in ease and plenty at *Pepper-hara* in *Surry* ; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and publick spirited in you to be of the kingdom's side in this dispute by shewing without reserve your disapprobation of Mr. *Wood's* design ; at least if you have been so

* It is since sunk to 200,000 l.

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frank to others as you were to me ; which indeed I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other points ; and therefore I could get but few believers, when I attempted to justify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the *drapier's* observation. If these half-pence should once gain admittance, it is agreed, that in no long space of time, what by the clandestine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and those of others either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a grain of gold or silver visible in the nation. This in my opinion would lay a heavy charge upon the crown by creating a necessity of transmitting money from *England* to pay the salaries at least of the principal civil officers : for I do not conceive how a judge (for instance) could support his dignity with a thousand pounds a year in *Wood's* coin ; which would not intrinsically be worth near two hundred. To argue that these half-pence, if no other coin were current, would answer the general ends of commerce among ourselves, is a great mistake, and the *drapier* hath made that matter too clear to admit an answer, by shewing us what every owner of land must be forced to do with the products of it in such a distress. You may read his remarks at large in his second or third letter ; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but observe, that for several months past there have more papers been written in this town, such as they are, all upon the best publick principle, the love of our country, than perhaps hath been known in any other nation in so short a time : I speak in general from the *drapier* down to the maker of *ballads* ; and all without any regard to the common motives of writers ; which are profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am assured by persons of credit, that the best ballad

lad upon Mr. *Wood* will not yield above a groat to the author; and the unfortunate adventurer *Harding* * declares he never made the *drapier* any present, except one pair of scissars. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court by opposing Mr. *Wood* is not very deep in politicks. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and learning would employ his pen upon so transitory a subject, and in so obscure a corner of the world, to distinguish himself as an author. So that I look upon my self, the *drapier*, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our several degrees.

All that the publick can expect for the future is, only to be sometimes warned to beware of Mr. *Wood's* half-pence; and to be referred for conviction to the *drapier's* reasons. For a man of the most superior understanding will find it impossible to make the best use of it, while he writes in constraint; perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out expressions, for fear of bringing his printer, or himself, under a prosecution from my lord chief justice *Whitshed*. It calls to my remembrance the madman in *don Quixote*, who, being soundly beaten by a weaver for letting a stone (which he always carried on his shoulder) fall upon a spaniel, apprehended that every cur he met was of the same species.

For these reasons I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and insipid; but if it contributes in the least to preserve that union among us for opposing this fatal project of Mr. *Wood*, my pains will not be altogether lost.

I sent these papers to an eminent lawyer (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain) who after many alterations returned them back with assuring me that they are perfectly innocent; without the least mixture of treason, rebellion, sedition, malice, disaffection, reflection, or wicked insinuation whatsoever.

If the *bell-man* of each parish, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, *Past twelve a clock; Beware of Wood's half-*

MA * The printer of the *drapier's* letters.

pence; it would probably cut off the occasion for publishing any more pamphlets; provided that in country towns it were done upon market-days. For my own part, as soon as it shall be determined, that it is not against law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of St. *Patrick's*; and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But if authority shall think fit to forbid all writings, or discourses upon this subject, except such as are in favour of Mr. *Wood*, I will obey as it becomes me; only when I am in danger of bursting, I will go and whisper among the reeds, not any reflection upon the wisdom of my countrymen; but only these few words, *BEWARE OF WOOD'S HALF-PENCE*.

I am, with due respect,

your most obedient, humble servant,

Deanry-house,

Oct. 26, 1724.

J. S.

A N

AN H U M B L E

A D D R E S S

T O

Both Houses of PARLIAMENT.

By M. B. Drapier.

*Multa gemens plagasque superbi
Victoris.-----*

I Have been told, that *petitions* and *addresses*, to either king or parliament, are the right of every subject; provided they consist with that respect, which is due to princes and great assemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modest *proposals* or *opinions* of private men have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the style of *advice*; which is a presumption far from my thoughts. However, if *proposals* should be looked upon as too assuming; yet I hope, every man may be suffered to declare his own and the nation's *wishes*. For instance; I may be allowed to *wish*, that some further laws were enacted for the advancement of *trade*, for the improvement of *agriculture*, now strangely neglected against the maxims of all wise nations: for supplying the manifest defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees: for setting the poor to work; and many others.

This address is without a date, but it appears to have been written during the first session of parliament in lord *Carteret's* government, though it did not appear till it was inserted with the preceding letter in the *Dublin* edition of 1735.

Among other inaccuracies in the *Irish* edition, two dates are assigned to the following tract; in the advertisement prefixed it is said to have been written the first session of *Carteret's* government, and in the title page to be written before his arrival.

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Upon

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty *wish* of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the parliament in this session would *begin* by strictly examining into the detestable fraud of one *William Wood*, now or late of *London*, hardware-man; who *illegally* and *clandestinely*, as appears by your own votes and addresses, procured a patent in *England* for coining half-pence in that kingdom to be current here. This, I say, is the *wish* of the whole nation, *very few excepted*; and upon account of those *few* is more strongly and justly the *wish* of the rest: those *few* consisting either of *Wood's* confederates, some obscure tradesmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS of weak judgment and strong ambition, who think to find their account in the ruin of the nation by securing or advancing themselves. And because such men proceed upon a system of politicks, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter strangers, I shall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleased to suppose me in a station of fifteen hundred pounds a year, salary and perquisites; and likewise possessed of 800 *l.* a year real estate. Then suppose a destructive project to be on foot; such for instance as this of *Wood*; which, if it succeed, in all the consequences naturally to be expected from it must sink the rents and wealth of the kingdom one half, (although I am confident, it would have done so five sixths.) Suppose, I conceive that the *countenancing*, or privately *supporting* this project, *will please those by whom I expect to be preserved, or higher exalted*: nothing then remains, but to compute and ballance my gain and my loss, and sum up the whole. I suppose that I shall keep my employment ten years, not to mention the fair chance of a better. This at 1500 *l.* a year amounts in ten years to 15000 *l.* My estate by the success of the said project sinks 400 *l.* a year; which at twenty years purchase, is but 8000 *l.* so that I am a clear gainer of 7000 *l.* upon the ballance. And during all that period I am possessed of *power and credit*, can gratify my *favourites*, and take vengeance
on

on my *enemies*. And if the project miscarry, my private *merit* is still entire. This *arithmetick*, as horrible as it appears, I *knowingly* affirm to have been practised, and applied in conjunctures, whereon depended the *ruin* or *safety* of a nation: although probably the charity and virtue of a *senate* will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be such monsters among mankind. And yet the wise lord *Bacon* mentions a sort of people, (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who would *set a house on fire* for the convenience of roasting their eggs at the flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned his thoughts to observe the course of publick affairs in this kingdom from the time of the *revolution*, must acknowledge, that the highest points of interest and liberty have been often sacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular persons upon the very principles and *arithmetick*, that I have supposed: the only wonder is, how these *artists* were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence even publick assemblies to become instruments for effecting their execrable designs.

It is, I think, in all conscience *latitude* enough for *vice*, if a man in *station* be allowed to act injustice upon the *usual* principles of getting a bribe, wreaking his malice, serving his party, or consulting his preferment, while his wickedness terminates in the ruin only of *particular* persons. But to deliver up our *whole* country, and every living soul who inhabits it, to *certain* destruction, hath not, as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable *casuists* on the side of *corruption*. It were far better, that all who have had the *misfortune* to be born in this kingdom, should be rendered incapable of holding *any* employment whatsoever above the degree of a *constable*, (according to the scheme and intention of a * *great minister gone to his own place*) than to live under the daily apprehension of a few *false brethren* among ourselves. Because, in the former case we should be wholly free from the danger of

* The late Earl of Sunderland.

being betrayed; since none could *then* have impudence enough to *pretend* any publick good.

It is true, that in this desperate affair of the new *half-pence* I have not heard of any man above my own degree of a shop-keeper to have been hitherto so bold, as in *direct terms* to vindicate the fatal project; although I have been told of some very *mollifying expressions* which were used, and very *gentle expedients* proposed and handed about, when it first came under debate: but since the eyes of the people have been so far opened, that the most ignorant can plainly see their own ruin in the success of *Wood's* attempt, these *grand compounders* have been more cautious.

But that the same spirit still subsists, hath manifestly appeared (among other instances of great compliance) from *certain circumstances*, that have attended some *late proceedings* * in a court of *judicature*. There is not any common-place more frequently insisted on by those, who treat of our constitution, than the great happiness and excellency of trials by *juries*; yet if this blessed part of our law be eludible at pleasure by the force of *power, frowns* and *artifice*, we shall have little reason to boast of our advantage in this particular over other states or kingdoms in *Europe*. And surely these *high* proceedings, exercised in a point that so nearly concerned the *life-blood* of the people, their *necessary subsistence*, their very *food* and *raiment*, and even the *publick peace*, will not allow any favourable *appearance*; because it was obvious, that so much *superabundant zeal* could have no other design, or produce any other effect, than to *damp* that *spirit* raised in the nation against this accursed scheme of *William Wood* and his *abettors*; to which *spirit* alone we owe, and for ever must owe, our being *hitherto* preserved, and our hopes of being preserved for the future, if it can be kept up, and strongly countenanc'd by *your* wise assemblies. I wish I could account for such a demeanor

* By chief justice *Whitshed*, whose method with a jury may be seen in the note which follows the *Proposal for the use of Irish manufactures*, and that at the end of *Seasonable advice to a grand-jury*.

upon

upon a more *charitable* foundation, than that of putting our interest in over-balance with the ruin of our country.

I remember some months ago, when this affair was fresh in discourse, a person nearly allied to *SOMEBODY*, or (as the hawkers called him) *NOBODY*, who was thought *deeply concerned*, went about very diligently among his acquaintance to shew the bad consequences, that might follow from any publick resentment to the disadvantage of his *ally*, Mr. *Wood*; principally alledging the danger of all employments being disposed of from *England*. One of these *emissaries* came to me, and urged the same *topick*: I answered naturally, that I knew there was no office of *any* kind, which a man from *England* might not have, if he thought it worth his asking; and that I looked upon all who had the disadvantage of being born here, as only in the condition of *leasers* and *gleaners*. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of the countryman, who entreated his *ass* to fly for fear of being taken by the *enemy*; but the *ass* refused to give himself that trouble, and upon a very wise reason; because he could not possibly change his present master for a *worse*: the *enemy* could not make him *fare harder*, *beat him more cruelly*, or load him with *heavier burthens*.

Upon these and many other considerations I may affirm it to be the *wish* of the whole nation, that the power and privileges of *juries* were declared, ascertained, and confirmed by the legislature; and that whoever hath been manifestly known to violate them, might be *stigmatized* by publick *censure*; not from any hope that such a *censure* will amend their *practices*, or hurt their *interest*, (for it may probably *operate quite contrary in both*) but that the nation may know their *enemies* from their *friends*.

I say not this with any regard or view to my self; for I write in great security; and am resolved that none shall *merit* at my expence, further than by shewing their *zeal* to *discover*, *prosecute* and *condemn me* for endeavouring to do my duty in serving my country:

country : and yet I am conscious to my self, that I never had the least intention to *reflect on his majesty's ministers*, nor on any other person, except *William Wood*, whom I neither did, nor do *yet* conceive to be of *that number*. However, some would have it, that *I went too far* ; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have *gone further*, and I think I could not easily have *fared worse*. And therefore I was no further affected with *their proclamation*, and subsequent proceedings, than a good clergyman is with the *sins* of the people. And as to the poor *printer*, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a *righteous* tribunal.

As my intention is only to lay before your great assemblies the general wishes of the nation ; and as I have already declared it our principal *wish*, that your *first* proceeding would be to examine into the pernicious fraud of *William Wood* ; so I must add as the universal opinion, that all *schemes* of *commutation*, *composition*, and the like *expedients*, either *avowed* or *implied*, will be of the most pernicious consequences to the publick ; against the dignity of a *free* kingdom ; and prove an encouragement to future *adventurers* in the same destructive projects. For it is a maxim, which no man at present disputes, that even a *connivance* to admit one thousand pounds in these *half-pence* will produce in time the same ruinous effects, as if we openly consented to admit a million. It were therefore infinitely more safe and eligible to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy state they are at present, (which however God forbid) and trust entirely to the general aversion of our people against this coin, using all honest endeavours to preserve, continue, and increase that aversion, than submit to apply those *palliatives* which *weak*, *perfidious*, or *abject politicians* are upon all *occasions*, and in all *diseases*, so ready to *administer*.

In the small compass of my reading (which however hath been more extensive than is usual to men of my inferior calling) I have
observed

observed that *grievances* have always preceded *supplies*, and if ever *grievances* had a title to such a pre-eminence, it must be this of *Wood*; because it is not only the greatest *grievance* that any country could suffer, but a *grievance* of such a kind that, if it should take effect, would make it impossible for us to give any *supplies* at all, except in *adulterate copper*; unless a tax were laid for paying the civil and military lists, and the *large* pensions, with real commodities instead of money; which however might be liable to some few objections as well as difficulties: for although the *common soldiers* might be content with *beef* and *mutton*, and *wool*, and *malt*, and *leather*; yet I am in some doubt as to the *generals*, the *colonels*, the *numerous pensioners*, the *civil officers* and others, who all live in *England* upon *Irish pay*, as well as those *few* who reside among us only because they cannot help it.

There is one particular, which although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the history of any age or country; neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmost *astonishment*.

After the unanimous addresses to his sacred majesty against this patent of *Wood* from both houses of parliament, which are the *three estates* of the kingdom; and likewise an address from the privy council, to whom under the chief governors the whole administration is intrusted; the matter is referred to a committee of council in *London*. *Wood*, and his adherents are heard on one side; and a few *volunteers* without any trust or direction from hence, on the other. The question (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the want of *half-pence* in *Ireland*: witnesses are called on the behalf of *Wood* (of what credit I have formerly shewn*) upon the issue the patent is found good and legal; all his majesty's offi-

* In letter iii.

cers here (not excepting the *military*) commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual; the addressees of both houses of parliament, of the privy council, and of the city of *Dublin*, the declarations of most counties and corporations through the kingdom, are altogether laid aside as of no weight, consequence, or consideration whatsoever; and the whole kingdom of *Ireland* nonsuited in default of appearance; as if it were a private cause between *John Dow*, plaintiff, and *William Row*, defendant.

With great respect to those honourable persons, the committee of council in *London*, I have not understood them to be our *governors*, *counsellors*, or *judges*. Neither did our case turn at all upon the question, whether *Ireland* wanted *half-pence*. For there is no doubt, but we do want both half-pence, gold, and silver; and we have *numberless* other *wants*, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name, although they are peculiar to this nation, to which no other is subject, whom God hath blessed with *religion* and *laws*, or any degree of *soil* and *sunshine*: but for what *demerits* on our side I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember, that our want of half-pence was either affirmed, or denied in any of our addressees or declarations against those of *Wood*. We alledged the *fraudulent* obtaining and executing his patent, the baseness of his metal, and the prodigious sum to be coined, which might be increased by stealth, from foreign importation, and his own counterfeits, as well as those at home; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little gold and silver, and all our poor remainder of a very *limited* and *discouraged* trade. We urged, that the patent was passed without the least reference hither; and without mention of any *security* given by *Wood* to receive his own half-pence upon demand; both which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like cases. These, and many other arguments we offered; but still the patent went on, and at this day our ruin would have been half compleated, if God in his mercy had not raised an universal detestation of these

these half-pence in the whole kingdom, with a firm resolution never to receive them, since we are not under obligations to do so by any *law* either *human* or *divine*.

But, in the name of *God* and of all *justice* and *piety*, when the king's majesty was pleased that this patent should pass, is it not to be understood, that he *conceived*, *believed*, and *intended* it as a gracious act, for the good and benefit of his subjects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful kingdom; of the most *loyal* kingdom upon earth, where no *hand* or *voice* was ever lifted up against him; a kingdom, where the passage is not of three hours from *Britain*, and a kingdom where *papists* have less *power*, and less *land* than in *England*? Can it be denied, or doubted, that his majesty's ministers understood and proposed the same end, *the good of this nation*, when they advised the passing this patent? Can the *person* of *Wood* be otherwise regarded, than as the *instrument*, the *mechanick*, the *head-workman*, to prepare his furnace, his fuel, his metal, and his stamps? If I employ a *shoe-boy*, is it in view to his advantage, or to my own convenience? I mention the *person* of *William Wood* alone; because *no other* appears, and we are not to reason upon *surmises*; neither would it avail, if they had a real foundation.

Allowing therefore, (for we cannot do less) that this patent for the coining of half-pence was wholly intended by a gracious king, and a *wise publick-spirited* ministry, for the advantage of *Ireland*; yet when the whole kingdom to a man, for whose good the patent was designed, do upon maturest consideration universally join in openly declaring, protesting, addressing, petitioning against these half-pence, as the most ruinous project that ever was set on foot to compleat the slavery and destruction of a poor innocent country: *is it, was it, can it, or will it* ever be a question, not whether such a kingdom, or *William Wood*, should be a gainer; but whether such a kingdom should be *wholly undone, destroyed, sunk, depopulated*, made a scene of *misery* and *desolation*, for the

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fake of *William Wood*? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgment; and it is our universal *wish*, that God would put it into *your* hearts to be his instruments for so good a work.

For my own part, who am but *one* man, of obscure condition, I do solemnly declare in the presence of almighty God, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing death rather than submit to receive this *accursed coin*, or *any other* that shall be liable to the same objections, until they shall be forced upon me by a law of *my own country*; and if that shall ever happen, I will transport my self into some *foreign* land, and eat the *bread of poverty* among a *free* people.

Am I legally punishable for these expressions; shall *another proclamation* issue against me, because I presume to take my country's part against *William Wood*, where her final destruction is intended? But whenever you shall please to impose *silence* upon me, I will submit; because I look upon your *unanimous voice* to be the *voice* of the nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in some manner the *voice* of *God*.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying so long at *mercy* under so *vile* an adversary, is such a deplorable aggravation, that the utmost expressions of shame and rage are too low to set it forth: and therefore I shall leave it to receive such a resentment, as is worthy of a *parliament*.

It is likewise our universal *wish*, that his majesty should grant liberty to coin half-pence in this kingdom for our own use, under such restriction as a parliament *here* shall advise: since the power of coining even gold and silver is possessed by every *petty* prince abroad; and was always practised by *Scotland* to the very time of the *union*; yet surely *Scotland* as to soil, climate, and extent, is not in itself a fourth part the value of *Ireland*; (for bishop *Burnet* says, it is not above the fortieth part in value to the rest of *Britain*) and with respect to the profit that *England* gains from hence, not the forty thousandth part. Although I must confess
that

that a *mote* in the *eye*, or a *thorn* in the *side*, is more dangerous and painful than a *beam* or a *spike* at a *distance*.

The histories of *England*, and of most other countries, abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical effects from the abuses of *coin* by debasing the metal, by lessening or enhancing the value upon *occasions*, to the public loss; of which we have an example within our own memory in *England*, and another very lately in *France*. It is the *tenderest* point of government, affecting every individual in the highest degree. When the value of money is *arbitrary* or *unsettled*, no man can well be said to have any *property* at all; nor is any wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaves such deep and lasting scars behind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy island to have a title to some *indulgence* from *England*; not only upon the score of *christianity*, *natural equity*, and the *general rights of mankind*, but chiefly on account of that *immense profit* they receive from us; without which that kingdom would make a very *different* figure in *Europe*, from what it doth at present.

The rents of land in *Ireland*, since they have been of late so enormously raised and screwed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one third part at least is directly transmitted to those, who are perpetual absentees in *England*; as I find by a computation made with the assistance of several skilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether losers and *England* a gainer, we found to amount to almost as much more.

I will only set down as many heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the consideration of those, who understand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The *occasional* absentees, for business, health, or diversion.

Three fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his absence; which is usually four fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the *post-office*.

The *numerous pensions* paid to persons in *England*.

The pay of the chief officers of the army absent in *England*, which is a great sum.

Four commissioners of the revenue, always absent.

Civil employments very numerous, and of great income.

The vast charge of appeals to the house of lords, and to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court, and the two universities.

Eighty thousand pounds sent yearly to *England* for coals; whereof the prime cost is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thousand pounds paid several years past for corn sent over hither from *England*; the effect of our own *great wisdom* in discouraging *agriculture*.

The *kind* liberty granted us of wearing *Indian* stuffs, and calicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, besides the profit to *England* *, is an inconceivable loss to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our streets, or transport themselves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loss to us, and gain to *England*, by selling them *all* our *wool* at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime cost: *a proceeding without example in the christian or beathen world*.

Our own *wool* returned upon us in *English* manufactures to our infinite shame and damage, and the great advantage of *England*.

The full profit of all our *mines* accruing to *England*; an effect of great negligence and stupidity.

An affectation among us of liking all kind of goods made in *England* †.

* From whence these commodities were exported to *Ireland*, the *East India* company only having a right to import them from the country in which they are manufactured.

† Many of the above articles have been since particularly computed by another writer, to whose treatise the reader is referred.

These and many other articles, which I cannot recollect at present, are agreed by judicious men to amount to near seven hundred thousand pounds *per ann.* clear profit to *England*. And upon the whole, let any man look into those authors who write upon the subject of *commerce*, he shall find, that there is not one single article in the essentials or circumstances of trade, whereby a country can be a *loser*, which we do not possess in the *highest perfection*; somewhat in every particular, that bears a kind of *analogy* to *William Wood*; and now the *branches* are all cut off, he stands ready with his *ax* at the *root*.

Upon this subject of *perpetual absentees* I have spent some time in very insignificant reflections; and considering the usual motives of human actions, which are *pleasure*, *profit*, and *ambition*, I cannot yet comprehend how those persons find their account in *any* of the *three*. I speak not of those *English* peers or gentlemen, who beside their estates at home have possessions here, for in that case the matter is desperate; but I mean those lords, and wealthy knights, or squires, whose birth and partly their education and *all* their fortune (except some trifle, and that in a very few instances) are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough during several years, when I resided in *England*; and truly I could not discover, that the *figure* they made was by any means a subject for *envy*, at least it gave me *two very different passions*. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an *opera*, or sometimes appearing *behind a croud* at court, or adding to the ring of *coaches* in *Hide-Park*, or losing their money at the *chocolate-house*, or getting news, votes, and minutes about five days before us in *Dublin*; I say, besides these and a few other privileges of *less* importance, their temptations to live in *London* were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I used to wonder, how a man of birth and spirit could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a *foreign* country, when he might live with lustre in *his own*; and even at less than half that expence, which

which he *strains* himself to make without obtaining any *one* end, except that which happened to the *frog*, when he would needs contend for size with the *ox*. I have been told by scholars, that *Cæsar* said he would rather be the *first* man in I know not what village, than the *second* in *Rome*. This perhaps was a thought only fit for *Cæsar*: but to be *preceded* by *thousands* and *neglected* by *millions*; to be wholly without *power*, *figure*, *influence*, *honour*, *credit*, or *distinction*, is not in my poor opinion a very *amiable* situation of life to a person of *title* or *wealth*, who can so cheaply and easily *shine* in his native country.

But, besides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving so many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of so many country seats and plantations, the cutting down all the woods to supply expences in *England*; the absence of so many noble and wealthy persons hath been the cause of *another fatal consequence*, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that *very considerable* number of lords, who possess the amplest fortunes here, had been content to *live at home*, and attend the affairs of their own country in *parliament*; the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble house would in all human probability have prevented *certain proceedings*, which are now *ever to be lamented*, because they *never can be remedied*: and we might have then *decided our own properties among ourselves*, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by sea and land to *another kingdom* for justice, to our infinite expence, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of *servitude* without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have sometimes wondered, upon what motives the peerage of *England* were so desirous to determine *our* controversies; because I have been assured, and *partly know*, that the frequent *appeals* from hence have been very *irksome* to that illustrious body: and whoever hath frequented the *painted chamber* and *courts of requests* must have observed, that they are never so *nobly* filled, as when an *Irish* appeal is under debate. The

The peers of *Scotland*, who are very numerous, were content to reside in their castles and houses in that *bleak and barren climate*; and although some of them made frequent journies to *London*, yet I do not remember any of their greatest families, till very lately, to have made *England* their constant habitation before the *union*: or if they did, I am sure it was generally *to their own advantage*; and whatever they got, was employed to cultivate and increase their own estates; and by that means enrich themselves and their country.

As to the great number of rich *absentees* under the degree of *peers*; what particular ill effects their absence may have upon this kingdom, besides those already mentioned, may perhaps be too tender a point for me to touch. But whether those, who live in another kingdom upon great estates here, and have lost all regard to their own country, further than upon account of the *revenues they receive from it*; I say, whether such persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to *vacant seats*, who have no interest here except a precarious employment, and consequently can have no views, but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced: this, I am sure, is a very melancholy question, *if it be a question at all*.

But, besides the prodigious profit which *England* receives by the transmittal thither of two thirds of the revenues of this whole kingdom, it hath another mighty advantage by making our country a *receptacle*, wherein to *disburthen* themselves of their *supernumerary* pretenders to offices; persons of second-rate merit in their own country, who, *like birds of passage*, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their *credit and employments* are at an end. So that *Ireland* may justly say what *Luther* said of himself; *P O O R Ireland maketh many rich*.

If amidst all our difficulties I should venture to assert, that we have one great advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought, I believe most of my readers would be long in conjecturing,

turing, what *possible* advantage could ever fall to our share. However, it is certain, that all the *regular seeds* of *party* and *faction* among us are entirely rooted out; and if any new ones shall spring up, they must be of *equivocal* generation, without any seed at all; and will justly be imputed to a degree of stupidity beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the score of our *birth-place* and *climate*.

The *parties* in this kingdom (including those of modern date) are, first, of those who have been charged or suspected to *favour the pretender*; and those, who were *zealous opposers of him*. Secondly, of those who were *for and against a toleration of dissenters by law*. Thirdly, of *high and low church*; or (to speak in the *cant* of the times) of *whig and tory*. And fourthly, of *court and country*. If there be any more, they are beyond my observation or politicks: for as to *subaltern or occasional parties*, they have all been *derivations* from the same originals.

Now it is manifest, that all these incitements to *faction*, *party*, and *division* are wholly removed from among us. For as to the *pretender*, his cause is both *desperate* and *obsolete*: there are very few now alive, who were *men* in his father's time, and in that prince's interest; and in all others the obligation of conscience hath no place*: even the *papists* in general of any substance or estates, and their *priests* almost universally, are what we call *whigs*, in the sense which by that word is generally understood. They feel the *smart*, and see the *scars* of their former *wounds*; and very well know, that they must be made a *sacrifice* to the least attempts towards a *change*; although it cannot be doubted, that they would be glad to have their *superstition* restored under any prince whatsoever.

Secondly, the *dissenters* are now *tolerated by law*; neither do we observe any *murmurs* at present from that quarter, except those *reasonable* complaints they make of *persecution*, because

* The obligation arising from their having sworn allegiance. they

they are excluded from civil employments; but their number being very small in either *house* of parliament, they are not *yet* in a situation to erect a *party*: because however indifferent men may be with regard to *religion*, they are *now* grown wise enough to know, that if such a *latitude* were allowed to *dissenters*, the few small employments left us in cities and corporations would find *other hands* to lay hold on them.

Thirdly, the dispute between *high* and *low church* is now at an end; two thirds of the *bishops* having been promoted in *this* reign, and most of them from *England*, who have bestowed *all* preferments in their gift to those they could well *confide in*: The *deanries* all, except three, and many principal church livings, are in the donation of the crown: so that we already possess *such a body of clergy*, as will never engage in controversy upon that *anti-quoted* and *exploded* subject.

Lastly, as to *court* and *country parties*, so famous and avowed under most reigns in *English* parliaments: this kingdom hath not for several years past been a proper scene, whereon to exercise such contentions; and is now less proper than ever; many great employments for life being in *distant* hands, and the *reversions* *diligently watched and secured*; the temporary ones of any *inviting* value are all bestowed *elsewhere* as fast as they drop, and the few remaining are of too low consideration to create contests about them, except among younger brothers, or tradesmen like my self. And therefore, to institute a *court* and *country party* without *materials* would be a very new system in politicks, and what I believe was never thought on before; nor unless in a *nation of ideots* can ever succeed, for the most ignorant *Irish* cottager will not *sell his cow for a groat*.

Therefore I conclude, that all *party* and *faction* with regard to publick proceedings are now extinguished in this kingdom*;

* Since this discourse was written, it hath appeared by experience, that the author was much mistaken in his conjectures.

neither doth it appear in view how they can possibly *revive*; unless some new causes be administered; which cannot be done without *crossing the interest of those, who are the greatest gainers by continuing the same measures*. And general calamities without *hope of redress* are allowed to be the great *uniters* of mankind.

However we may dislike the *causes*, yet this *effect* of begetting an universal concord among us in all *national debates*, as well as in *cities, corporations, and country neighbourhoods* may keep us at least alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in *peace and amity*. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers-drawing, till one of the company cried out, desiring to know the *subject of the quarrel*; which when none of them could tell, they put up their swords, sat down, and passed the rest of the evening in *quiet*. The *former part* hath been our case, I hope the *latter* will be so too; that we shall *sit down* amicably together, at least until we have *something* that may give us a title to fall out, since nature hath instructed even a brood of *goslings* to *stick together*, while the *kite* is hovering over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm *union* in any country, where every man wishes the same thing with relation to the publick, may in several points of the greatest importance in some measure supply the *defect of power* and even of *those rights, which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind*. If the universal *wish* of the nation upon any point were declared by the *unanimous* vote of the house of commons, and a reasonable number of lords, I should think my self obliged in conscience to act in my sphere according to that vote; because in all free nations I take the proper definition of *law* to be, the *will of the majority of those who have the property in land*; which, if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal assent. And although such *votes or declarations* have not received such a confirmation for certain *accidental reasons*; yet I think they ought to be of much weight with the
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subject, provided they neither oppose the king's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force; none of which however can reasonably be supposed. Thus for instance, if nine in ten of the house of commons, and a reasonable number of native temporal peers, should declare, that whoever received or uttered *brass coin*, except under certain limitations and securities, should be deemed as *enemies to the king and the nation*; I should think it a heinous sin in my self to act contrary to such a vote: and if the same power should declare the same *censure* against those, who wore *Indian stuffs* and *callico*s, or *woollen manufactures imported from abroad*, whereby this nation is reduced to the lowest ebb of misery, I should *readily, heartily, and chearfully* pay obedience; and to my utmost power persuade others to do the like: because there is no *law* of this land obliging us either to *receive such coin*, or to *wear such foreign manufactures*.

* Upon this last article I could humbly wish, that the reverend the *clergy* would set us an example by contenting themselves with wearing gowns and other habiliments of *Irish* drapery; which, as it would be some incitement to the *laity*, and set many hands to work, so they would find their advantage in the *cheapness*, which is a circumstance not to be neglected by *too many* among that venerable body. † And in order to this I could heartily desire, that the most ingenious artists of the weaving trade would contrive some decent stuffs and silks for *clergymen* at reasonable rates.

I have pressed several of our most substantial brethren, that the whole corporations of *weavers* in silk and woollen would publish some *proposals* (I wish they would do it to both houses of parliament) inviting persons of all degrees and of both sexes

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to wear the woollen and silk manufactures of our own country ; entering into solemn, mutual engagements, that the buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable ware for his money, and at a certain rate, without the trouble of cheapening. So that if I sent a child for a piece of stuff of a particular colour and fineness, I should be sure not to be deceived ; or if I had reason to complain, the corporation should give me immediate satisfaction ; and the name of the tradesman, who did me the wrong, should be published ; and warning given not to deal with him for the future ; unless the matter plainly appeared to be a mistake : for, beside the trouble of going from shop to shop, an ignorant customer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodness of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dextrous and dishonest man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general disreputation ; and the gentry call for *English* cloth, or silk, from an opinion they have (and often too justly by our own faults) that the *goodness* more than makes up for the difference of price.

Besides, it hath been the sottish and ruinous practice of us tradesmen upon any great demand of goods either at home or from abroad to raise the prices immediately, and manufacture the said goods more slightly and fraudulently than before.

Of this foul and foolish proceedings too many instances might be produced ; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor kingdom hath received such a fatal blow in the *only article of trade* allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the success of *Wood's* project could outdo it. During the late plague in *France* the *Spaniards*, who buy their linen cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection, a very great demand was made here for that commodity, and exported to *Spain* : but, whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or dishonesty of the *northern* weavers, or the collusion of both, the ware was so bad, and the price so excessive, that, except some small quantity

quantity which was sold below the prime cost, the greatest part was returned : and I have been told by very intelligent persons, that if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen trade to *Spain* would have taken its course from hence.

If any punishment were to be inflicted on *numbers of men*, surely there could none be thought too great for such a race of *traitors*, and *enemies* to God and their country ; who for the prospect of a little *present* gain do not only ruin themselves (for that alone would be an *example* to the rest, and a *blessing* to the nation) but sell their souls to hell, and their country to destruction. And if the *plague* could have been confined only to those who were *partakers in the guilt*, had it travelled hither from *Marseilles*, those wretches would have died with less title to *pity*, than a *highway-man* going to the gallows.

But it happens very *unluckily*, that for *some time past* all endeavours or proposals from private persons to advance the publick service, however honestly and innocently designed, have been called FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE ; and this to my knowledge hath been the style of *some persons*, whose *ancestors* (I mean those among them who *had any*) and *themselves* have been *flying in princes faces* these fourscore years ; and from their own inclinations would do so still, if their interest did not lead them rather to *fly in the face* of a kingdom, which hath given them *wings* to enable them for such a *flight*.

Thus, about four years ago, when a discourse * was published endeavouring to persuade our people to wear their own woollen manufactures, full of the most dutiful expressions to the king, and without the least *party hint*, it was termed *flying in the king's face* ; the *printer* was prosecuted in the manner we all remember, and I hope *it will somewhere be remembered further*, the *jury* kept eleven hours, and sent back nine times, till they were under the necessity of leaving the prisoner to the mercy of the

* The Proposal for the universal use of *Irish* manufactures.

court,

court by a *special verdict*; the * judge on the bench *invoking God for his witness*, when he asserted, that the author's design was to bring in the *pretender*.

And thus also my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admission of *Wood's* coin were called by the same persons, *flying in the king's face*; which I directly deny: for I cannot allow that *vile* representation of the royal countenance in *William Wood's* adulterate copper to be his sacred majesty's face; or if it were, my *flying* was not against the *impression*, but the *baseness* of the metal; because I well remembered, that the image which *Nebuchadnezzar* commanded to be set up for all men to fall down and worship it, was not of COPPER, but pure GOLD. And I am heartily sorry, we have so few royal images of that metal among us; the sight whereof, although it could hardly increase our veneration for his majesty, which is already so great, yet would very much *enliven* it with the mixture of *comfort* and *satisfaction*.

Alexander the great would suffer no statuary, except *Phidias*, to carve his image in stone or metal. How must he have treated such an operator as *Wood*, who goes about with sack-fulls of dross, odiously misrepresenting his prince's countenance; and would force them by thousands upon every one of us at above six times the value.

But, notwithstanding all that hath been objected by *William Wood* himself, together with his *favourers*, *abettors*, *supporters*, either publick or private; by those who *connive* at this project, or *discourage* and *discountenance* his *opposers* for fear of lessening their *favour*, or *hazarding* their *employments*; by those, who endeavour to *damp* the *spirit* of the people raised against this coin, or check the honest zeal of such as by their *writings* or *discourses* do all they can to keep it up; by those *softners*, *sweeteners*, *compounders*, and *expedient-mongers*, who *shake* their heads

* Judge *Whitshed*.

so strongly that we can *bear their pockets jingle* ; I did never imagine, that in detecting the practices of such *enemies* to the kingdom I was *flying in the king's face* ; or thought they were better *representers* of his majesty, than that very *coin*, for which they are *secret* or *open* advocates.

If I were allowed to recite only those *wishes* of the nation, which may be in our power to attain ; I think they might be summed up in these few following.

First, that an end might be put to our apprehensions of *Wood's* half-pence, and to any danger of the *like* destructive scheme for the future.

Secondly, that half-pence might be coined in this kingdom by a publick mint with due limitations.

Thirdly, that the sense of both houses of parliament, at least of the house of commons, were declared by some *unanimous* and *heartly votes* against wearing any silk or woollen manufactures imported from abroad ; as likewise against wearing *Indian* silks or calicoes, which are forbidden under the highest penalties in *England* : and it behoves us to take example from so wise a nation ; because we are under a *greater necessity* to do so, since *we* are not allowed to *export* any woollen manufactures of our own ; which is the principal branch of foreign trade in *England*.

Fourthly, that some effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer sort of our natives in all those parts of this kingdom, where the *Irish* abound, by introducing among them our language and customs ; for want of which they live in the utmost ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themselves wholly up to idleness, nastiness, and thievery, to the very great and just reproach of too many landlords. And if I had in me the least spirit of a *projector*, I would engage, that this might be effected in a few years at a very inconsiderable charge.

Fifthly, that due encouragement should be given to *agriculture* ; and a stop put to that pernicious practice of graziers engros-
sing

sing vast quantities of land, sometimes at great distance; whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, that the defects in those acts for planting forest trees might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual; except about the demesnes of a few gentlemen; and even there in general very unskilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due care taken to preserve what is planted, or to enclose grounds; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity for want of skill and industry. The neglect of *copsing* woods cut down hath likewise been of very evil consequences. And if men were restrained from that unlimited liberty of *cutting down their own woods* before the proper time, as they are in some other countries, it would be a mighty benefit to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another example in *Europe* of such a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in so short a time, with so little advantage to the country either in *shipping* or *building*.

I may add that absurd practice of cutting *turf* without any regularity; whereby great quantities of restorable land are made utterly desperate, many thousands of cattle destroyed, the *turf* more difficult to come at and carry home, and less fit for burning; the air made unwholesome by stagnating pools and marshes; and the very sight of such places offensive to those who ride by. Neither should that odious custom be allowed of cutting *scraws* (as they call them) which is flaying off the green surface of the ground to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches; sometimes in shallow soils, where all is gravel within a few inches; and sometimes in low ground, with a thin green sward, and sloughy underneath; which last turns all into bog by this mismanagement. And I have heard from very skilful countrymen, that by these two practices in *turf* and *scraws* the kingdom loseth some hundreds of acres of profitable land every year; besides the irreparable loss of many skirts of bogs, which have a green coat of
grafs,

grafs, and yet are mangled for *turf*; and besides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be a great convenience for bringing their *turf* home at an easy rate, but likewise render even the larger bogs more dry and safe for summer pasture.

These, and some other speculations of the like kind, I had intended to publish in a particular discourse against this session of parliament; because, in some periods of my life I had opportunity and curiosity to observe, from what causes those great errors in every branch of country management have arisen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof some perhaps would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured by all possible means to avoid. And for the same reason I chose to add here the little I thought proper to say on this subject.

But, as to the lands of those who are *perpetual absentees*, I do not see any probability of their being ever improved. In former times their tenants sat at easy rents; but for some years past they have been generally speaking more terribly racked by the dexterity of *merciless agents* from *England*, than even those who held under the severest landlords here. I was assured upon the place by great numbers of credible people, that a prodigious estate in the county of *Cork* being let upon leases for lives, and great fines paid, the rent was so high, that the tenants begged leave to surrender their *leases*, and were content to lose their *fines*.

The cultivating and improvement of land is certainly a subject worthy of the highest enquiry in any country, but especially in ours; where we are so strangely limited in every branch of trade, that can be of advantage to us, and utterly deprived of those, which are of the greatest importance; whereof I defy the most learned man in *Europe* to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world: for we are denied the *benefit*, which *God* and *nature* intended to us; as manifestly appears by our *happy*

situation for commerce, and the great number of our excellent ports. So that I think, little is left us, besides the cultivating our own soil, encouraging *agriculture*, and making great plantations of trees, that we might not be under the necessity of sending for *corn* and *bark* from *England*, and *timber* from other countries. This would increase the number of our inhabitants, and help to consume our natural products, as well as manufactures at home. And I shall never forget what I once ventured to say to a great man in *England*: that few *politicians*, with all their schemes, are half so useful members of a common-wealth, as an *honest farmer*; who, by skilfully draining, fencing, manuring and planting, hath increased the intrinsic value of a piece of land; and thereby done a *perpetual service* to his country; which it is a great controversy whether any of the *former* ever did, since the creation of the world; but no controversy at all, that ninety-nine in a hundred have done abundance of mischief.

A FULL AND TRUE
ACCOUNT

OF THE

Solemn Procession to the Gallows, at the Execution
of *William Wood*, Esquire, and Hard-ware-man.

Written in the Year 1724.

SOME time ago upon a report spread, that *William Wood*,
hard-ware-man, was concealed in his brother-in-law's* house
here in *Dublin*, a great number of people of different conditions,
and of both sexes, crowded about the door, determinately bent to
take revenge upon him as a coiner and a counterfeiter. Amongst
the rest, a certain curious person standing in a corner observed,
that they all discovered their resentments in the proper terms and
expressions of their several trades and callings; whereof he wrote
down as many as he could remember; and was pleased to com-
municate them to me, with leave to publish them for the use of
those, who at any time hereafter may be at a loss for proper
words wherein to express their good dispositions towards the said
William Wood.

The people cried out to have him delivered into their hands.

Says the parliament man, *expel* him the house.

2^d parliament man. I second that *motion*.

Cook. I'll *baste* him.

2^d Cook. I'll give him his *belly-full*.

3^d Cook. I'll give him a *lick* in the chops.

4th Cook. I'll *sowce* him.

Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can *stand*.

Bookseller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.

Sadler. I'll *pummel* him.

* One *Molyneux* an ironmonger.

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* One *Molyneux* an ironmonger.

Glazier. I'll maketh *light* shine through him.

Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.

Groom. I'll *curry* his hide.

Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.

2^d *Pothecary.* I'll beat him to *mummy*.

School-master. I'll make him an *example*.

Rabbit-catcher. I'll *ferret* him.

Paviour. I'll *thump* him.

Coiner. I'll give him a *rap*.

WHIG. Down with him.

TORY. Up with him.

Miller. I'll dash out his *grinders*.

2^d *Miller.* *Dam* him.

Boat-man. Sink him.

Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel*.

Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.

Bagnio-man. I'll make the *house* too *hot* for him.

Whore. *Pox* rot him.

2^d *Whore.* Let me *alone* with him.

3^d *Whore.* Clap him up.

Mustard-maker. I'll have him by the *nose*.

Curate. I'll make the *devil* come out of him.

Popish-priest. I'll send him to the *devil*.

Dancing-master. I'll teach him *better manners*.

2^d *Dancing-master.* I'll make him cut a *caper* three *story* high.

Farmer. I'll *thrash* him.

Taylor. I'll sit on his *skirts*.

2^d *Taylor.* *Hell* is too good for him.

3^d *Taylor.* I'll *pink* his *doublet*.

4th *Taylor.* I'll make his a—— make *buttons*.

Basket-maker. I'll *hamper* him.

Fidler. I'll have him by the *ears*.

2^d *Fidler.* I'll bang him to some *tune*.

Barber.

Barber. I'll have him by the *beard*.

2^d *Barber.* I'll pull his *whiskers*.

3^d *Barber.* I'll make his *bair* stand on end.

4th *Barber.* I'll *comb* his *locks*.

Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.

Cobler. I'll make an *end* of him.

Tobacconist. I'll make him *smoak*.

2^d *Tobacconist.* I'll make him set up his *pipes*.

Gold-finder. I'll make him *stink*.

Hackney-coachman. I'll make him know his *driver*.

2^d *Hackney-coachman.* I'll *drive* him to the devil.

Butcher. I'll have a *limb* of him.

2^d *Butcher.* Let us *blow* him up.

3^d *Butcher.* My *knife* in him.

Nurse. I'll *swaddle* him.

Anabaptist. We'll *dip* the rogue in the *pond*.

Ostler. I'll *rub* him down.

Shoemaker. Set him in the *stocks*.

Banker. I'll kick him to *half crowns*.

2^d *Banker.* I'll *pay* him off.

Bowler. I'll have a *rubber* with him.

Gamester. I'll make his *bones rattle*.

Bodice-maker. I'll *lace* his *fides*.

Gardener. I'll make him *water* his *plants*.

Ale-wife. I'll *reckon* with him.

Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his *horns*.

Old Woman. I'll *mumble* him.

Hangman. I'll *throttle* him.

But at last the people, having received assurances, that *William Wood* was neither in the house nor kingdom, appointed certain commissioners to hang him in effigie; whereof the whole ceremony and procession deserve to be transmitted to posterity.

First,

First, the way was cleared by a detachment of the *black-guards*, with short sticks in their hands, and cockades of paper in their hats.

Then appeared *William Wood*, Esq; represented to the life by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the keel of a ship. Upon his face, which looked very dismal, were fixed at proper distances several pieces of his own coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his calling and his crime. He wore on his head a peruke, very artfully composed of four old mops; a halter about his neck served him for a cravat. His cloaths were indeed not so neat and elegant as is usual with persons in his condition (which some censorious people imputed to affectation) for he was covered with a large rugg of several colours in patchwork: he was borne upon the shoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by *St. Stephen's-green*, he often bowed on both sides to shew his respects to the company; his deportment was grave; and his countenance, though somewhat pensive, was very composed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long mourning cloak, with his hat over his nose, and a handkerchief in his left hand to wipe the tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner *himself in person*; whose venerable aspect drew the eyes of the whole assembly upon him; but he was further distinguished by a halter, which he bore upon his left shoulder as the badge of his office.

Then followed two persons hand in hand; the one representing *William Wood's* brother-in-law; the other a certain *sadler*, his intimate friend, whose name I forget. Each had a small kettle in his hand, wherein was a reasonable quantity of the new half-pence. At proper periods they shook their kettles, which made a melancholy sound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

After these followed several officers, whose assistance was necessary for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

The

The procession was closed with an innumerable crowd of people, who frequently sent out loud huzzas; which were censured by wiser heads as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph over the unfortunate, without duly considering the various vicissitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial historian, I will not conceal one observation, that Mr. *Wood* himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least alteration in his countenance; only when he came within sight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the same species of timber with his own person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

At the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a tear. He made no resistance, but submitted himself with great resignation to the hangman, who was indeed thought to use him with too much roughness, neither kissing him, nor asking him pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed, and deserves to be written in letters of GOLD. Being asked whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

Those of the softer sex, who attended the ceremony, lamented that so comely and well-*timbered* a man should come to so untimely an end. He hung but a short time; for upon feeling his breast, they found it cold and stiff.

It is strange to think, how this melancholy spectacle turned the hearts of the people to compassion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city to gather contributions for his wake; and all sorts of people shewed their liberality according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an ale-house of distinction, and in a manner suitable to the quality of the deceased. While the attendants were discoursing about his funeral, a worthy member of the assembly stood up and proposed, that the body should be carried out the next day, and burned with the same pomp and formalities used at his execution; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and
about

about nine o' clock on the following morning there appeared a second procession. But, burning not having been any part of the sentence, authority thought fit to interpose, and the corps was rescued by the civil power.

We hear the body is not yet interred; which occasions many speculations. But what is more wonderful, it is positively affirmed by many who pretend to have been eye-witnesses, that there does not appear the least alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance; nor visible decay in his whole frame, further than what had been made by worms long before his execution. The solution of which difficulty I shall leave among naturalists.

A SHORT VIEW OF THE
SHORT VIEW
OF THE
STATE of IRELAND.

Written in the Year 1727.

I AM assured, that it hath for some time been practised as a method of making men's court, when they are asked about the rate of lands, the abilities of tenants, the state of trade and manufacture in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid, to answer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flourishing condition, the rent and purchase of land every day encreasing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his representations; besides being looked on as not well affected, he is sure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of secret, why these questions are so *cordially* asked, or so *obligingly* answered.

But since with regard to the affairs of this kingdom I have been using all endeavours to subdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any personal interest, not being the owner of one spot of ground in the whole *island*; I shall only enumerate by rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of *Ireland*.

The first cause of a kingdom's thriving is, the fruitfulness of the soil to produce the necessaries and conveniencies of life; not only sufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The second is, the industry of the people, in working up all their native commodities to the last degree of manufacture.

Y

The

The third is, the conveniency of safe ports and havens to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in those of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives should, as much as possible, export and import their goods in vessels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries, which will permit them, except those, who are in war with their own prince or state.

The sixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own consent; for otherwise they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for justice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are so many grievous impoverishments.

The seventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby encreasing the number of their people; without which any country, however blessed by nature, must continue poor.

The eighth is, the residence of the prince, or chief administrator of the civil power.

The ninth is, the concourse of foreigners for education, curiosity, or pleasure; or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is, by disposing all offices of honour, profit or trust only to the natives; or at least with very few exceptions, where strangers have long inhabited the country, and are supposed to understand and regard the interest of it as their own.

The eleventh is, when the rents of lands, and profits of employments, are spent in the country which produced them, and not in another; the former, of which will certainly happen, where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is, by the publick revenues being all spent and employed at home, except on the occasions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unless they

they find it for their own interest or conveniency, to receive any monies, except of their own coinage by a publick mint after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is, a disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury either in cloaths, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other causes of a nation's thriving, which I at present cannot recollect: but without advantage from at least some of these, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover from whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time I will here examine, what share falls to *Ireland* of these causes, or of the effects and consequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts; and the matter is not of small importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a solitary house, far from help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; because those, who come for gold, will go off with pewter and brass, rather than return empty: and in the common practice of the world those, who possess most wealth, make the least parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out in shewing their faces on the *exchange*.

As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil, as well as temperature of climate, we have no reason to complain; for, although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bogg and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in *England*; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodness, and might with the same encouragement be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in some of which however we are only defective in point of skill and industry.

In the second, which is the industry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature hath bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us, than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, *Ireland* is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty or sixty years it can hardly be said, that the nation hath received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state: yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to; which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name for fear of lord chief-justice *Whitshed's* ghost, with his * *libertas et natale solum*, written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physick sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease: and thus we are forced to pay five hundred *per cent.* to decide our properties: in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.

* *Liberty and my native country.*

As to the improvement of land; those few, who attempt that or planting, through covetousness or want of skill generally leave things worse than they were; neither succeeding in trees nor hedges; and by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the *Scythians*, are every day depopulating the country.

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four fifths of his time in the government.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels; where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of *Ireland* is spent in *England*; which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journeys of pleasure or health, education at the *inns* of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to *England*.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the isle of *Man* they coin their own *silver*; every petty prince, vassal to the *emperor*, can coin what money he pleaseth. And in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies, that were ever known in the world.

As to the last, or fourteenth article, we take special care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole course of our lives. Both sexes, but especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries; particularly a sort of silk plad, through which

which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread that it may pass for *Indian*. Even ale and potatoes are imported from *England*, as well as corn; and our foreign trade is little more, than importation of *French* wine, for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true (upon which I could easily enlarge) I would be glad to know, by what secret method it is, that we grow a rich and flourishing people without *liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining*; without *industry, labour, or improvement of land*; and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole *kingdom* annually exported, for which we receive not a single farthing: and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the *North*, a trade casual, corrupted and at mercy; and some butter from *Cork*. If we do flourish, it must be against every law of nature and reason; like the thorn at *Glastenbury*, that blossoms in the midst of winter.

Let the worthy *commissioners*, who come from *England*, ride round the kingdom, and observe the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods; the abundance and vicinity of country seats; the commodious farmers houses and barns; the towns and villages, where every body is busy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the shops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with customers; the comfortable diet and dress, and dwellings of the people; the vast numbers of ships in our harbours and docks, and ship-wrights in our sea-port towns; the roads crowded with carriers, laden with rich manufactures; the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress? what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to *England*?

But

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer; for it is manifest, that whatever stranger took such a journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in *Lapland* or *Ysland*, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil, and temperature of climate. The miserable dress, and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an *English* hog-sty to receive them. These indeed may be comfortable sights to an *English* spectator; who comes for a short time, only to learn the language, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth transmitted.

Nostra miseria magna est.

There is not one argument used to prove the riches of *Ireland*, which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and cloaths, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than *English* beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other countries a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery; there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearness of land, since the savers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearness of necessaries for life: because the tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant rates for land, (which they must take or go a begging) without raising the price of cattle, and of corn, although themselves should live upon chaff. Hence our increase of buildings in this city; because workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily increase of *bankers*, who may be a necessary

necessary evil in a trading country, but so ruinous in ours; who for their private advantage have sent away all our silver, and one third of our gold; so that within three years past the running cash of the nation, which was about five hundred thousand pounds, is now less than two, and must daily diminish, unless we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom, the isle of *Man*, and the meanest principality in the *German* empire, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought, that this paradox of the kingdom growing rich is chiefly owing to those worthy gentlemen the **BANKERS**; who, except some custom-house officers, birds of passage, oppressive thrifty 'squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wished, that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen *bankers* every year, and thereby interpose at least some short delay to the further ruin of *Ireland*.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, answered *Pharaoh* to the *Israelites*, when they complained to *his majesty*, that they were forced to make bricks without straw.

England enjoys every one of those advantages for enriching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and into the bargain, a good million returned to them every year without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our side: but how long we shall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the least concern. One thing I know, that *when the hen is starved to death, there will be no more golden eggs*.

I think it a little unhospitable, and others may call it a subtil piece of malice, that because there may be a dozen families in this town able to entertain their *English* friends in a generous manner at their tables, their guests upon their return to *England* shall report, that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet, I confess, I have known an hospital, where all the household

hold officers grew rich; while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude, if *Ireland* be a rich and flourishing kingdom, its wealth and prosperity must be owing to certain causes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind; and the effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at strangers, when they deliver such paradoxes; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the same verdict, must be either ignorant to stupidity, or a man-pleaser at the expence of all honour, conscience, and truth. *

* The present state of *Ireland* || is in general as flourishing as possible. Agriculture is cultivated: arts and sciences are encouraged: and in the space of eighteen years, which is almost the full time that I have known it, no kingdom can be more improved.

ORRERY.

|| 1752.

ANSWER

TO A

PAPER

CALLED

A Memorial of the poor Inhabitants, Tradesmen and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland.

Written in the Year 1728.

I Received a *paper* from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer; and sent, I suppose, to me among others without any particular distinction. It contains a complaint of the dearness of corn; and some schemes for making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

But pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a short history of the steps, by which we arrived at this hopeful situation.

It was indeed the shameful practice of too many *Irish* farmers to wear out their ground with ploughing; while either through poverty, laziness, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itself; and when their leases were near expiring, being assured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that many landlords were considerable sufferers by it †.

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who upon expiration of the farmers leases were ready to engross great quantities of land; and the gentlemen having been before often ill

† This practice probably produced the penal clauses to prohibit ploughing, mentioned in the *Proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures*.

paid,

paid, and their land wore out of heart, were too easily tempted, when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land, and give them security for payment. Thus, a vast tract of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and labourers in their several cabins, became all desolate, and easily managed by one or two herdsmen and their boys; whereby the master-grazier with little trouble seized to himself the livelihood of a hundred people.

It must be confessed, that the farmers were justly punished for their *knavery*, *brutality*, and *folly*. But neither are the *squires* and *landlords* to be excused; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vast number of *beggars*, and the ruin of those few sorry improvements we had.

That *farmers* should be limited in ploughing, is very reasonable, and practised in *England*; and might have easily been done here by penal clauses in their leases: but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, was a most stupid want of thinking.

Had the *farmers* been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four last years of their leases, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have saved a *million of money*; and been more populous by above *two hundred thousand souls*.

For a people, denied the benefit of *trade*, to manage their lands in such a manner as to produce nothing, but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only such things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, is an absurdity that a *wild Indian* would be ashamed of; especially when we add, that we are content to purchase this hopeful commerce by sending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

The *grazier's* employment is to feed great flocks of *sheep*, or *black cattle*, or both. With regard to *sheep*, as folly is usually ac-

compained with perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a commodity, (further than for our own use) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured, but to *one certain country*, and only to some *few* ports in that country; there is, I say, something so sottish, that it wants a name in our language to express it by: and the good of it is, that the more *sheep* we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the *wool*, or eat the *flesh*. *Ajax* was mad, when he mistook a flock of *sheep* for his enemies: but we shall never be sober, until we have the same way of thinking.

The other part of the *grazier's* business is what we call *black cattle*, producing *hides*, *tallow*, and *beef* for exportation: all which are good and useful commodities, if rightly managed. But it seems, the greatest part of the *hides* are sent out raw for want of *bark* to *tan* them; and that want will daily grow stronger: for, I doubt, the new project of *tanning* without it is at an end. Our *beef*, I am afraid, still continues scandalous in foreign markets for *the old reasons*. But our *tallow*, for any thing I know, may be good. However, to bestow the whole kingdom on *beef* and *mutton*, and thereby drive out half the people, who should eat their share, and force the rest to send sometimes as far as *Egypt* for bread to eat with it, is a most peculiar and distinguished piece of publick œconomy, of which I have no comprehension.

I know very well that our ancestors the *Scythians*, and their posterity our kinsmen the *Tartars*, lived upon the blood and milk and raw flesh of their cattle, without one grain of *corn*; but I confess my self so degenerate, that I am not easy without *bread* to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two, was to see, in this prodigious plenty of *cattle*, and dearth of *human creatures*, and want of *bread*, as well as *money* to buy it, that all kind of *flesh-meat* should be monstrously *dear*, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws, that there was not
some

some regulation in the price of *flesh*, as well as *bread*: but I imagine my self to have guessed out the reason: in short, I am apt to think, that the whole kingdom is over-stocked with *cattle*, both *black* and *white*: and as it is observed, that the poor *Irish* have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows, than one fat, although with double the charge of grazing, and but half the quantity of milk; so I conceive it much more difficult at present to find a fat *bullock* or *wether*, than it would be, if half of them were fairly knocked on the head: for I am assured, that the district in the several markets, called *carrion-row*, is as reasonable as the poor can desire; only the circumstance of *money to purchase it*, and of *trade*, or *labour*, to *purchase* that *money*, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your memorial.

A hundred thousand barrels of *wheat*, you say, should be imported hither; and ten thousand pounds *præmium* to the importers. Have you looked into the purse of the nation? I am no commissioner of the *treasury*; but am well assured, that the whole running *cash* would not supply you with a sum to purchase so much *corn*, which, only at twenty shillings a barrel, will be a hundred thousand pounds; and ten thousand more for the *præmium*. But you will traffick for your *corn* with other goods: and where are those goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of *absentees*, and other occasions in *London*, besides a huge ballance of trade this year against us. Will foreigners take our bankers paper? I suppose, they will value it at little more than so much a quire. Where are these *rich farmers* and *ingrossers of corn*, in so bad a year, and so little sowing?

You are in pain for two shillings *præmium*, and forget the twenty shillings for the price; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your scheme for a tax for raising such a sum is all visionary,
and

and owing to a great want of knowledge in the *miserable state* of this nation. *Tea, coffee, sugar, spices, wine, and foreign cloaths,* are the particulars you mention, upon which this tax should be raised. I will allow the two first; because they are unwholesome; and the last, because I should be glad if they were all burned; but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our misery; or give your tenants leave to plough for *barley*. But I will tell you a *secret*, which I learned many years ago from the commissioners of the *customs* in *London*: they said, when any *commodity* appeared to be taxed above a *moderate rate*, the consequence was to lessen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of those gentlemen pleasantly told me, that the mistake of parliaments on such occasions was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas in the business of laying *heavy impositions* two and two never made more than one; which happens by lessening the import, and the strong temptation of running such goods as paid high duties, at least in this kingdom. Although the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their husbands can deserve, and the men are fond enough of wine, yet the number of both, who can afford such expences, is so small, that the major part must refuse gratifying themselves, and the duties will rather be lessened than encreased. But, allowing no force in this argument; yet so preternatural a sum, as one hundred and ten thousand pounds, raised all on a sudden, (for there is no dallying with hunger) is just in proportion with raising a million and a half in *England*; which, as things now stand, would probably bring that opulent kingdom under some difficulties.

You are concerned how strange and surprizing it would be in foreign parts to hear, that the poor were starving in a RICH country, etc. Are you in earnest? is *Ireland* the *rich country* you mean? or are you insulting our *poverty*? were you ever out of *Ireland*? or were you ever in it till of late? You may probably have a good employment, and are saving all you can to purchase a good estate

estate in *England*. But by talking so familiarly of one hundred and ten thousand pounds by a *tax* upon a few *commodities*, it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our present condition; or else you would know and allow, that such a sum is not to be raised here, without a *general excise*; since, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in *taxes* more than *England* ever did in the height of the war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be the buyers? Most certainly, not the poor, who will not be *able* to purchase the twentieth part of it.

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but, I think, your meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

If you will propose a general contribution for supporting the poor in *potatoes* and *buttermilk*, till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may succeed better; because the thing at least is possible: and, I think, if our brethren in *England* would contribute upon this emergency, out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of *justice* as well as *charity*. In the mean time go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as fast as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring 'squires to do the same with theirs; or else die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and starving the rest. For as to your scheme of raising *one hundred and ten thousand pounds*, it is as vain as that of *Rabelais*; which was to squeeze out wind from the posteriors of a dead ass.

But, why all this concern for the poor? We want them not as the country is now managed; they may follow thousands of their leaders, and seek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the business of fifty, and you may send away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of husbandry, never known or practised by the wisest nations, who erroneously thought people to be the riches of a country!

If

If so wretched a state of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleasure, after all the warning I have in vain given the publick at my own peril for several years past, to see the consequences and events answering in every particular. I pretend to no sagacity: what I writ was little more than what I had discoursed to several persons, who were generally of my opinion: and it was obvious to every common understanding, that such effects must needs follow from such causes. A fair issue of things begun upon party rage, while some sacrificed the publick to fury, and others to ambition: while a spirit of faction and oppression reigned in every part of the country, where gentlemen, instead of consulting the ease of their tenants or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of *whig* and *tory*, of *high church* and *low church*; which no more concerned them, than the long and famous controversy of *strops* * *for razors*: while *agriculture* was wholly discouraged, and consequently half the farmers and labourers, and poorer tradesmen, forced to beggary or banishment: *Wisdom crieth in the streets; because I have called on you; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded. But ye have set at nought all my counsels, and would none of my reproof. I also will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh.*

I have now done with your memorial, and freely excuse your mistakes, since you appear to write as a stranger, and as of a country, which is left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the best of those advantages which God hath given it in soil, climate, and situation.

But having lately sent out a paper, entitled, *A short view of the state of Ireland*; and hearing of an objection, that some people think I have treated the memory of the late lord chief justice *Whitshed* with an appearance of severity: since I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining my self in that particular,

* A piece of leather pasted on wood to be used with a certain powder, for the property and excellence of which several competitors eagerly contended.

I chuse

I chuse to do it here: laying it therefore down for a *postulatum*, which I suppose will be universally granted, that no *little creature* of so mean a birth and genius had ever the *honour* to be a *greater enemy* to his country, and to all kinds of virtue than HE, I answer thus; whether there be two different goddesses called *Fame*, as some authors contend, or only one goddess founding two different trumpets, it is certain, that people distinguished for their *villainy* have as good a title to a blast from the *proper trumpet*, as those who are most renowned for their *virtues* have from the other; and have equal reason to complain if it be refused them. And accordingly the names of the most *celebrated profligates* have been faithfully transmitted down to posterity. And although the person here understood acted his part in an obscure corner of the world; yet his talents might have shone with lustre enough in the noblest scene.

As to my naming a person dead, the plain honest reason is the best. He was armed with power and will to do mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his prosecuting two *printers*, one to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the king, nor him, nor the publick.

What an encouragement to vice is this? If an ill man be alive, and in power, we dare not attack him; and if he be weary of the world, or of his own villainies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputation is safe. For these excellent casuists know just *latin* enough to have heard a most foolish precept, that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*; so that if *Socrates*, and *Anytus* his accuser *, had happened to die together, the charity of survivors must either have obliged them to hold their peace, or to fix the same character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is, when the least doubt remains whether the accusation be true; but when men are openly abandoned, and lost to all shame, they

* *Anytus* one of the wretches who accused *Socrates* of contemning the gods, and endeavouring to subvert the religion of his country.

have no reason to think it hard, if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwise publisheth any thing, which it is possible may be false, that man is a slanderer; *hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto*. Even the least misrepresentation, or aggravation of facts, deserves the same censure in some degree: but in this case I am quite deceived, if my error hath not been on the side of extenuation.

I have now present before me the idea of some persons, (I know not in what part of the world) who spend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake, (and probably of their dreams while they sleep) in the most detestable actions and designs; who delight in *mischief, scandal, and obloquy*, with the *hatred and contempt* of all mankind against them; but chiefly of those among their own party, and their own family; such, whose *odious qualities* rival each other for perfection; *avarice, brutality, faction, pride, malice, treachery, noise, impudence, dulness, ignorance, vanity, and revenge*, contending every moment for superiority in their breasts. Such creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it prudent, or safe to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memory will *rot*, there may be some benefit for their survivors, to smell it while it is *rotting*.

I am, SIR,

Your humble servant,

Dublin, March
25th, 1728.

A. B.

A VIN-

VINDICATION

Of His Excellency

JOHN Lord CARTERET,

FROM THE

CHARGE of favouring none but *Tories, High-Church-men, and Jacobites.*

Written in the Year 1730.

IN order to treat this important subject with the greatest fairness and impartiality, perhaps it may be convenient to give some account of his *excellency*; in whose life and character there are certain particulars, which might give a very just suspicion of some truth in the accusation he lies under.

He is descended from two noble, ancient and most loyal families, the *Carterets* and the *Granvilles*, too much distinguished, I confess, for what they acted, and what they suffered in defending the former constitution in church and state under king *Charles* the martyr; I mean that very prince, on account of whose martyrdom *a form of prayer, with fasting, was enjoined by act of parliament to be used on the 30th day of January every year, to implore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that sacred and innocent blood might not be visited on us or our posterity*; as we may read at large in our *common-prayer-books*; which day hath been solemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.

His excellency the present lord was educated in the university of *Oxford*; from whence, with a singularity scarce to be justi-

The view of this piece seems to be to recommend moderation, and laugh political bigotry out of countenance.

fied, he carried away more *greek*, *latin* and *philosophy*, than properly became a person of his rank; indeed much more of each than most of those, who are forced to live by their learning, will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he split on upon his first appearance in the world, and having just got clear of his guardians. For as soon as he came to town, some bishops, and clergymen, and other persons most eminent for learning and parts, got him among them; from whom although he were fortunately dragged by a lady and the court, yet he could never wipe off the stain, nor wash out the tincture of his university acquirements and dispositions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleased God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgment, comprehension, eloquence, and wit: and, to finish the work, all these were fortified even in his youth with the advantages received by such employments, as are best fitted both to exercise and polish the gifts of nature and education, having been ambassador in several courts, when his age would hardly allow him to take a degree; and made principal secretary of state at a period, when, according to custom, he ought to have been busied in losing his money at a chocolate-house; or in other amusements equally laudable and epidemic among persons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak side in his excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that *greek* and *latin* books might be found every day in his dressing-room, if it were carefully searched; and there is reason to suspect, that some of the said books have been privately conveyed to him by *tory* hands. I am likewise assured, that he hath been taken in the very fact of reading the said books, even in the midst of a session, to the great neglect of publick affairs.

I own, there may be some grounds for this charge; because I have it from good hands, that when his excellency is at dinner with one or two scholars at his elbows, he grows a most unsupportable

supportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his excellency lies under another very great disadvantage. For with all the accomplishments above mentioned, adding that of a most comely and graceful person, and during the prime of youth, spirits, and vigour, he hath in a most unexampled manner led a regular domestic life; discovers a great esteem, and friendship, and love for his lady, as well as true affection for his children; and when he is disposed to admit an entertaining evening-companion, he doth not always enough reflect, whether the person may possibly in former days have lain under the imputation of a *tory*; nor at such times do the natural or *affected* fears of *popery* and the *pretender* make any part of the conversation: I presume, because neither *Homer*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, or *Cicero*, have made any mention of them.

These I freely acknowledge to be his excellency's failings: yet, I think it is agreed by philosophers and divines, that some allowance ought to be given to human infirmity, and to the prejudices of a wrong education.

I am well aware, how much my sentiments differ from the *orthodox* opinions of one or two principal patriots, at the head of whom I name with honour *Pistorides*. For these have decided the matter directly against me by declaring, that no person, who was ever known to lie under the suspicion of one single *tory* principle, or who had been once seen at a great man's levee in the *worst of times**, should be allowed to come within the verge of the castle; much less to bow in the anti-chamber, appear at the *assemblies*, or dance at a birth-night. However I dare assert, that this maxim hath been often controlled; and that on the contrary, a considerable number of *early penitents* have been received into grace, who are now an *ornament*, *happiness*, and *support* to the nation.

* The three last years of queen *Anne*, when lord *Oxford* was minister, were so called by the whigs.

Neither

Neither do I find any murmuring on some other points of greater importance, where this favourite maxim is not so strictly observed.

To instance only in one. I have not heard, that any care hath hitherto been taken to discover whether madam † *Violante* be a *whig* or *tory* in her principles; or even that she hath ever been offered the oaths to the government: on the contrary, I am told, that she openly professeth herself to be a *high-flyer*; and it is not improbable by her outlandish name, she may also be a *papist* in her heart; yet we see this illustrious and dangerous female openly caressed by principal persons of both parties; who contribute to support her in a splendid manner, without the least apprehensions from a *grand-jury*, or even from 'squire *Hartley Hutcheson* himself, that *zealous prosecutor of hawkers and libels*. And, as *Hobbes* wisely observes, *so much money* being equivalent to *so much power*, it may deserve considering, with what safety such an instrument of *power* ought to be trusted in the hands of an *alien*, who hath not given any legal security for her good affection to the government.

I confess, there is one evil which I could wish our friends would think proper to redress. There are many *whigs* in this kingdom of the *old-fashion'd stamp*, of whom we might make very good use; they bear the same loyalty with us to the *Hanoverian* family in the person of king *George the II^d*; the same abhorrence of the *pretender*, with the consequences of *popery* and *slavery*, and the same indulgence to *tender consciences*: but having nothing to ask for themselves, and therefore the more leisure to think for the publick, they are often apt to entertain fears, and melancholy prospects concerning the state of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miserable condition of the people, with other topicks of the like nature; all which do equally concern both *whig* and *tory*; who, if they have any

† A famous *Italian* rope-dancer.

thing to lose, must be equally sufferers. Perhaps, one or two of these melancholy gentlemen will sometimes venture to publish their thoughts in print: now I can by no means approve our usual custom of cursing and railing at this species of thinkers under the names of *tories*, *jacobites*, *papists*, *libellers*, *rebels*, and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor, angry, bustling, well-meaning mortal *Pistorides*; who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference, than a mixture of *pity* on one side, and of *aversion* on the other.

How hath he been pelted, pestered and pounded by one single wag, who promiseth never to forsake him, living or dead?

I was much pleased with the humour of a *surgeon* in this town; who having, in his own apprehension, received some great injustice from the earl of *Galway*, and despairing of revenge as well as relief, declared to all his friends, that he had set a-part one hundred guineas to purchase the earl's carcase from the sexton, whenever it should dye, to make a skeleton of the bones, stuff the hide, and shew them for three-pence; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had suffered by its owner.

Of the like spirit too often is that implacable race of wits; against whom there is no defence but innocence, and philosophy: neither of which is likely to be at hand; and therefore the wounded have no where to fly for a cure, but to downright stupidity, a crazed head, or a profligate contempt of guilt and shame.

I am therefore sorry for that other miserable creature *Traulus*; who, although of somewhat a different species, yet seems very far to outdo even the genius of *Pistorides* in that miscarrying talent of railing without consistency or discretion against the most innocent persons, according to the present situation of his gall and spleen. I do not blame an *honest* gentleman for the bitterest invectives against one, to whom he professeth the greatest friendship; provided he acts in the dark, so as not to be discovered:
but

but in the midst of *caresses, visits, and invitations*, to run into the streets, or to as *publick a place*, and without the least pretended incitement sputter out the basest and falsest accusations; then to wipe his mouth, come up smiling to his friend, shake him by the hand, and tell him in a whisper, it was *all for his service*: this proceeding, I am bold to think a great failure in prudence: and I am afraid lest such a practitioner, with a body so *open, so foul, and so full of sores*, may fall under the resentment of an incensed political *surgeon*, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocation: who without waiting for his death, will *slay and dissect* him alive; and to the view of mankind lay open all the disordered cells of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and spots and flatus's of his spleen: and all this for *three-pence*.

In such a case what a scene would be laid open! and, to drop my metaphor, what a character of our mistaking friend might an angry enemy draw and expose! particularizing that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies so inconsistent with each other in the same breast: furious and fawning, scurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, insolent and abject; most profligately false, with the strongest professions of sincerity; positive and variable, tyrannical and slavish.

I apprehend, that if all this should be set out to the world by an angry whig of the *old stamp*, the unavoidable consequence must be a confinement of our *friend* for some months *more* to his garret; and thereby depriving the publick for so long a time, and in so *important a juncture* of his useful talents in their service; while he is fed like a wild beast through a hole, but I hope with a special regard to the *quantity and quality* of his nourishment.

In vain would his excusers endeavour to palliate his enormities by imputing them to madness; because it is well known, that madness only operates by inflaming and enlarging the good or evil dispositions of the mind. For the *curators of Bedlam* assure

us,

us, that some lunaticks are persons of *honour, truth, benevolence*, and many other virtues, which appear in their highest ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner; while others on the contrary discover in every word and action the utmost *baseness* and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they possessed in the same degree, although perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that *academy*.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuse the overflowings of that zeal, which our *friend* shews or means for our cause. And it must be confessed, that the *easy and smooth fluency of his elocution, bestowed on him by nature, and cultivated by continual practice*, added to the *comeliness of his person, the harmony of his voice, the gracefulness of his manner, and the decency of his dress*, are temptations too strong for such a genius to resist upon any publick occasion of making them appear with *universal applause*. And if good men are sometimes accused of loving their *jest* better than their *friend*; surely to gain the reputation of the first *orator* in the kingdom, no man of spirit would scruple to lose all the *friends* he had in the world.

It is usual for masters to make their boys declaim on both sides of an argument; and as some kinds of assemblies are called the *schools of politicks*, I confess nothing can better improve political school-boys, than the art of making plausible or implausible harangues against the very opinion, for which they resolve to determine.

So cardinal *Perron*, after having spoke for an hour to the admiration of all his hearers to prove the existence of God, told some of his intimates, that he could have spoken another hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reasoning in the strongest light, that I think it will bear; and have nothing to answer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader shall please, it hath constantly met with ill success in the mouth of our *friend*; but whether for

want of good luck, or good management, I suspend my judgment.

To return from this long digression; if persons in high stations have *been allowed* to chuse *wenches* without regard even to difference in religion, yet never incurred the least reflection on their loyalty, or their protestantism; shall the chief governor of a great kingdom be censured for chusing a *companion*, who may formerly have been suspected for differing from the *orthodox* in some speculative opinions of persons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a sound *whig*?

But let me suppose a very possible case. Here is a person sent to govern *Ireland*, whose unfortunate weak side it happens to be, for several reasons above-mentioned, that he hath encouraged the attendance of *one* or *two* gentlemen distinguished for their taste, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his majesty, and pray heartily for him: yet because they may perhaps be stigmatized as *quondam* tories by *Pistorides* and his gang, his excellency must be forced to banish them under the pain and peril of displeasing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worse condition than every common good fellow, who may be a sincere *protestant* and a loyal subject, and yet rather chuse to drink fine ale at the *pope's* head, than muddy at the *king's*.

Let me then return to my suppositions. It is certain, the high-flown loyalists in the *present* sense of the word have their thoughts, and studies, and tongues, so entirely diverted by political schemes, that the *zeal* of their *principles* hath *eaten* up their *understandings*; neither have they time from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours for acquiring new additions of merit, to amuse themselves with philological converse or speculations, which are utterly ruinous to all schemes of rising in the world. What then must a great man do, whose ill stars have fatally perverted him to a love and taste, and possession of literature, politeness,
and

and good sense? Our thorough-spiced republick of whigs, which contains the bulk of all *hoppers, pretenders, expecters, and professors*, are beyond all doubt most *highly useful* to princes, to governors, to great ministers, and to their country; but at the same time, and by necessary consequence, the most disagreeable companions to all, who have that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his excellency, and perhaps to five or six more in a nation.

I do not deny it possible, that an original or profelyte favourite of the times might have been born to those useless talents, which in former ages qualified a man to be a poet, or a philosopher. All I contend for is, that where the true genius of party once enters, *it sweeps the house clean*, and leaves room for many *other spirits* to take joint possession, until the *last state of that man is exceedingly better than the first*.

I allow it a great error in his excellency, that he adheres so obstinately to his old *unfashionable* academick education; yet so perverse is human nature, that the usual remedies for this evil in others have produced a contrary effect in him; to a degree, that I am credibly informed, he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a session quote passages out of *Plato* and *Pindar* at his own table to some *book-learned* companion without blushing, even when persons of *great stations* are by.

I will venture one step further; which is, freely to confess, that this mistaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language is too apt to spoil their *politicks* and *principles*; because the doctrine and examples of the books they read, teach them lessons *directly contrary in every point* to the *present practice* of the world: and accordingly *Hobbes* most judiciously observes, that the writings of the *Greeks* and *Romans* made young men imbibe opinions against absolute power in a prince, or even in a first *minister*; and to embrace notions of liberty and property.

It hath been therefore a great felicity in these kingdoms, that

the heirs to titles and large estates have a weakness in their eyes, a tenderness in their constitutions ; are not able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping ; and, as the mother rightly expresses it, could never *take to their books*, yet are well enough qualified to sign a receipt for half a year's rent, to put their names (*rightly spelt*) to a warrant, and to read pamphlets against *religion* and *high-flying* ; whereby they fill their niches, and carry themselves through the world with that dignity, which best becomes a *senator* and a *squire*.

I could heartily wish his excellency would be more condescending to the *genius* of the kingdom he governs ; to the condition of the times, and to the nature of the station he fills. Yet if it be true, what I have read in old *English* story-books, that one *Agefilaus* (no matter to the bulk of my readers whether I spell the name right or wrong) was caught by the *parson of the parish* riding on a hobby-horse with his children ; that *Socrates* a heathen philosopher was found dancing by himself at fourscore ; that a king called *Cæsar Augustus* (or some such name) used to play with boys, whereof some might possibly be sons of *tories* ; and that two great men called *Scipio* and *Lelius*, (I forget their *christian* names, and whether they were poets or generals) often played at *duck and drake* with smooth stones on a river. Now I say, if these facts be true, (and the book where I found them is in print) I cannot imagine, why our most zealous patriots may not a little indulge his excellency in an infirmity, which is not morally evil ; provided he gives no publick scandal ; which is by all means to be avoided : I say, why he may not be indulged twice a week to converse with one or two particular persons ; and let him and them conn over their old *exploded* readings together, after mornings spent in hearing and prescribing *ways and means* from and to his *most obedient* politicians for the welfare of the kingdom ; although the said particular person, or persons, may not have made so publick a declaration of their political faith in all its parts,

parts, as the business of the nation requires: still submitting my opinion to that *happy majority*, which I am confident is *always in the right*; by whom the *liberty* of the subject hath been so frequently, so strenuously, and so successfully asserted; who by their wise counsels have made *commerce* to flourish, *money* to abound, inhabitants to encrease, the value of lands and rents to rise; and the whole island put on a new face of *plenty* and *prosperity*.

But, in order to clear his excellency more fully from this accusation of shewing his favours to *high-flyers*, *tories*, and *jacobites*, it will be necessary to come to particulars.

The first person of a *tory* denomination, to whom his excellency gave any marks of his favour, was doctor *Thomas Sheridan*. It is to be observed, that this happened so early in his excellency's government, as it may be justly supposed he had not been informed of that gentleman's character upon so *dangerous* an article. The doctor being well known, and distinguished for his skill and success in the education of youth beyond most of his profession for many years past, was recommended to his excellency on the score of his learning, and particularly for his knowledge in the *greek* tongue; whereof, it seems, his excellency is a great admirer, although for what reasons I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all hands, that his lordship was too easily prevailed on by the doctor's request, or indeed rather from the bias of his own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that *unknown* language by the doctor's lads, which was written by some heathen author; but whether it contained any *tory* or *high-church* principles, must be left to the consciences of the *boys*, the *doctor*, and his excellency; the *only* witnesses in this case, whose testimonies can be depended upon.

It seems, his excellency (a thing never to be sufficiently wonder'd at) was so pleased with his entertainment, that some time after he gave the doctor a church-living to the value of almost
one

one hundred pounds a year, and made him one of his chaplains; from an *antiquated* notion, that good school-masters ought to be encouraged in every nation professing civility and religion. Yet his excellency did not venture to make this bold step without strong recommendations from persons of undoubted principles *fitted to the times*; who thought themselves bound in justice, honour, and gratitude, to do the doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children, or of those of their friends. Yet the catastrophe was terrible; for the doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude going down to take possession of his parish, and furnished with a few led sermons, whereof as it is to be supposed the number was very small, having never served a cure in the church; he stopt at *Cork* to attend on his bishop; and going to church on the *sunday* following, was according to the usual civility of country clergymen invited by the minister of the parish to supply the pulpit. It *happened* to be the first of *August*; and the first of *August* *happened* that year to light upon a *sunday*: and it *happened* that the doctor's text was in these words; *Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof**: and lastly, it *happened* that some one person of the congregation, whose loyalty made him watchful upon every appearance of danger to his majesty's person and government, when service was over, gave the alarm. Notice was immediately sent up to town; and by the zeal of one man of *no large dimensions of body or mind*, such a clamour was raised, that we in *Dublin* could apprehend no less than an invasion by the *pretender*, who must be landed in the *south*. The result was, that the doctor must be struck out of the chaplains list, and appear no more at the castle; yet whether he were then, or be at this day, a *whig* or a *tory*, I think is a secret; only it is manifest, that he is a zealous *Hanoverian*, at least in poetry, and a great admirer of the present royal family through

* The first of *August* is the anniversary of the *Hanoverian* family's accession to the crown of Great Britain.

all its branches. His friends likewise assert, that he had preached this sermon often under the same text; that not having observed the words, till he was in the pulpit, and had opened his notes, as he is a person a little abstracted, he wanted presence of mind to change them: and that in the whole sermon there was not a syllable relating to government or party, or to the subject of the day.

In this incident there seems to have been an union of events, that will probably never happen again to the end of the world; or is at least, like the grand conjunction in the heavens; which, I think, they say can arrive but once in twenty thousand years.

The second gentleman (if I am right in my chronology) who under the suspicion of a *tory* received some favour from his excellency, is Mr. *James Stopford*; very strongly recommended by the most eminent *whig* in *England* on the account of his learning, and virtue, and other accomplishments. He had passed the greatest part of his youth in close study, or in travelling; and was either not at home, or not at leisure to trouble his thoughts about party; which I allow to be a great omission, although I cannot honestly place him in the list of *tories*: and therefore think his excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him vicar of *Finglass*, worth about one hundred pounds a year.

The third is doctor *Patrick Delany*. This divine lies under some disadvantage; having in his youth received many civilities from a certain * person, then in a very high station here; for which reason, I doubt the doctor never drank his confusion since, and what makes the matter desperate, it is now too late; unless our *inquisitors* will be content with drinking *confusion* to his memory. The afore said eminent person, who was a judge of all merit, except that of *party*, distinguished the doctor among other juniors in our university for his learning, virtue, discretion, and good sense. But the doctor was then in too good a situation at

* Sir *Constantine Phipps*, lord chancellor of Ireland, when queen *Anne* died.

his

his college to hope or endeavour at a better establishment from one, who had no power to give it him.

Upon the present lord lieutenant's coming over, the doctor was named to his excellency by a * *friend* among other clergy of distinction, as persons whose characters it was proper his excellency should know; and by the truth of which the *giver* would be content to stand or fall in his excellency's opinion; since not one of those persons were in particular friendship with the *gentleman* who gave in their names. By this, and some other incidents, particularly the recommendation of the late archbishop of *Dublin*, the doctor became known to his excellency, whose fatal turn of mind towards *heathenish* and *outlandish* books and languages, finding as I conceive a like disposition in the doctor, was the cause of his becoming so domestick, as we are told he is, at the castle of *Dublin*.

Three or four years ago the doctor grown weary of an academick life, for some reasons best known to the managers of the discipline in that learned society (which it may not be for their honour to mention) resolved to leave it; although, by the benefit of the pupils, and his senior fellowship, with all its perquisites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thousand pounds. And a small northern living, in the university's donation, of somewhat better than one hundred pounds a year falling at the same time with the chancellorship of *Christ-Church*, to about equal the value, in the gift of his excellency; the doctor ventured into the world in a very scanty condition; having squandered away all his annual income in a manner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to discover either on the exchange, or at a banker's shop.

About two months ago, his excellency gave the doctor a prebend in *St. Patrick's* cathedral; which being of near the same

* The author.

value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues, after he shall have paid the great incumbrances upon it: so that he may now be said to possess of church-preferments in scattered tythes three hundred pounds a year; instead of the like sum of infallible rents from a senior fellowship, with the offices annexed; beside the advantage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and some other easements.

But since the doctor hath not in any of his writings, his sermons, his actions, his discourse, or his company, discovered one single principle of either *whig* or *tory*; and that the lord lieutenant still continues to admit him; I shall boldly pronounce him **ONE OF US**: but, like a new *free-mason*, who hath not yet learned all the dialect of the mystery. Neither can he justly be accused of any *tory* doctrines; except perhaps some among those few, with which that *wicked party* was charged during the height of their power, but have been since transferred for the most *solid reasons*, to the *whole body* of our firmest friends.

I have now done with the clergy: and upon the strictest examination have not been able to find above one of that order, against whom any *party* suspicion can lie; I mean the unfortunate gentleman doctor *Sheridan*, who by meer chance-medley shot his own fortune dead with a single *text*.

As to the laity, I can hear of but one person of the *tory* stamp, who since the beginning of his excellency's government did ever receive any solid mark of his favour: I mean Sir *Arthur Acheson*, reported to be an acknowledged *tory*; and, what is almost as bad, a *scholar* into the bargain. It is whispered about, as a certain truth, that this gentleman is to have a grant of a certain barrack * upon his estate within two miles of his own house; for which the crown is to be his tenant, at the rent of sixty pounds *per annum*; he being only at the expence of about *five hundred* pounds to put the house in repair, build stables, and other neces-

* See a poem upon this incident called *Hamilton's bawn*, vol. vii.

faries. I will place this *invidious* mark of beneficence conferred on a *tory* in a fair light, by computing the costs and necessary defalcations: after which it may be seen how much Sir *Arthur* will be annually a clear gainer by the publick; notwithstanding his *unfortunate* principles, and his knowledge in *greek* and *latin*.

For repairs, etc. 500 <i>l</i> . the interest whereof <i>per ann.</i>	-	30	0	0
For all manner of poultry to furnish the troopers, but				
which the said troopers must be at the labour of		5	0	0
catching, valued <i>per ann.</i>	-- -- -- -- --			
For straggling sheep	-- -- -- -- --	8	0	0
For game destroyed five miles round	-- -- -- -- --	6	0	0
		49	0	0
Rent paid to Sir <i>Arthur</i>	-- -- -- -- --	60	0	0
Deduct	-- -- -- -- --	49	0	0
Remains clear	-- -- -- -- --	11	0	0

Thus if Sir *Arthur Acheson* shall have the good fortune to obtain a grant of this barrack, he will receive *net* profit annually from the crown ELEVEN pounds *sterling* to help him in entertaining the officers, and making provisions for his younger children.

It is true, there is another advantage to be expected, which may fully compensate the loss of cattle and poultry; by multiplying the breed of mankind, and particularly that of *good protestants*, in a part of the kingdom half depopulated by the wild humour among the farmers there of leaving their country. But I am not so skilful in arithmetick, as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one *per cent.* below the legal interest for the money that Sir *Arthur* must expend; and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may with good management be a *saver* at least; which is a *prodigious*

digious instance of moderation in our friends towards a professed *tory*; whatever merit he may pretend by the unwillingness he hath shewn to make his excellency uneasy in his administration.

Thus I have, with the utmost impartiality, collected every single favour (further than personal civilities) conferred by his excellency on *tories*, and reputed *tories*, since his first arrival hither to this 30th day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance possible to the arguments on the other side of the question: and the account will stand thus:

Disposed of preferments and employments to *tories*, or reputed *tories*, by his excellency *John lord Carteret*, lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, in about the space of six years:

To doctor <i>Thomas Sberidan</i> , in a rectory near <i>Kinsale</i> ,	}	100 0 0
<i>per annum</i> -- -- -- -- --		
To Sir <i>Arthur Acheson</i> , baronet, a barrack, <i>per ann.</i>		11 0 0
		III 0 0

Give me leave now to compute in gross the value of the favours done by his excellency to the *true friends* of their king and country, and of the *protestant religion*.

It is to be remembered, that, although his excellency cannot be properly said to bestow bishopricks, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commissioner in the revenue, and some others; yet they are for the most part disposed upon his recommendation, except where the persons are immediately sent from *England* by their interest at court; for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable, that the *only* considerable station conferred on a *tory* since his present excellency's government was of this *latter* kind.

And indeed it is but too notorious, that in a neighbouring nation (where this dangerous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous, more powerful, and of consequence more formidable)

formidable) *real* *tories* can often with much less difficulty obtain very high favours from the government, than their *reputed* brethren can arrive to the lowest in ours. I observe this with all possible submission to the wisdom of their policy; which however will not, I believe, dispute the praise of vigilance with ours.

W H I G account.

To persons promoted to bishopricks, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed <i>per ann.</i>	10,050 0 0
To civil employments	9030 0 0
To military commands	8436 0 0
	27,516 0 0

T O R Y account.

To <i>tories</i>	III 0 0
Ballance	27,405 0 0

I shall conclude with this observation, that, as I think, the *tories* have sufficient reason to be *fully satisfied* with the share of *trust, power, and employments*, which they possess under the lenity of the present government; so, I do not find how his excellency can be justly censured for favouring none but *high-church, high-flyers, termagants, laudists, sacheverellians, tip-top-gallon-men, jacobites, tantivys, anti-hanoverians, friends to popery and the pretender and to arbitrary power, disobligers of England, breakers of DEPENDENCY, inflamers of quarrels between the two nations, publick incendiaries, enemies to the king and kingdoms, haters of TRUE protestants, laurel-men, annists, complainers of the nation's poverty, ormondians, iconoclasts, anti-glorious-memorists, anti-revolutioners, white-rosalists, tenth-a-junians, and the like*, when by a fair state of the account the ballance, I conceive, *seems to lie on the other side.*

CONSIDER-

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON TWO

BILLS sent down from the Right Honourable the House of LORDS to the Honourable House of COMMONS in *Ireland* relating to the CLERGY.

Written in the Year 1731.

I Have often for above a month past desired some few clergymen, who are pleased to visit me, that they would procure an extract of two BILLS brought into the council by some of the bishops, and both of them since passed in the *house of lords*: but I could never obtain what I desired, whether by the forgetfulness or negligence of those whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itself. Therefore, if I shall happen to mistake in any fact of consequence, I desire my remarks upon it may pass for nothing; for my information is no better, than what I received in words from several divines, who seemed to agree with each other. I have not the honour to be acquainted with any one single *prelate* of the kingdom; and am a stranger to their *characters*, further than as common fame reports them, which is not to be depended on: therefore I cannot be supposed to act upon a principle of resentment. I esteem their functions (if I may be allowed to say so without offence) as truly *apostolical*, and absolutely necessary to the perfection of a *christian church*.

There are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of human kind, than an indifference or insensibility for other men's sufferings, and a sudden forgetfulness of their own former humble state, when they rise in the world. These two dispositions have not, I think, any where so strongly exerted themselves, as in the order of bishops with regard to the inferior clergy; for which I can find no reasons, but such as naturally should seem to operate a quite contrary way. The maintenance
of

of the clergy throughout the kingdom is precarious and uncertain, collected from a most miserable race of beggarly farmers; at whose mercy every *minister* lies to be defrauded. His office as *rector*, or *vicar*, if it be duly executed, is very laborious. As soon as he is promoted to a *bishoprick*, the scene is entirely and happily changed; his revenues are large, and as surely paid as those of the *king*; his whole business is once a year to receive the attendance, the submission, and the proxy-money of all his clergy, in whatever part of the diocese he shall please to think most convenient for himself. Neither is his personal presence necessary, for the business may be done by a *vicar-general*. The fatigue of ordination is just what the bishops please to make it; and as matters have been for some time, and may probably remain, the fewer ordinations the better. The rest of their visible office consists in the honour of attending parliaments and councils, and bestowing preferments in their own gift; in which last employment, and in their spiritual and temporal courts, the labour falls to their *vicars-general*, *secretaries*, *proctors*, *apparitors*, *seneschals*, and the like. Now, I say, in so quick a change, whereby their brethren in a few days are become their subjects, it would be reasonable at least to hope that the labour, confinement, and subjection, from which they have so lately escaped, *like a bird out of the snare of the fowler*, might a little incline them to remember the condition of those who were but last week their equals, probably their companions or their friends, and possibly as reasonable expectants. There is a known story of colonel *Tidcomb*, who, while he continued a subaltern officer, was every day complaining against the pride, oppression, and hard treatment of *colonels* towards their *officers*; yet in a very few minutes after he had received his commission for a regiment, walking with a friend on the *mall*, he confessed that the spirit of colonelship was coming fast upon him, which spirit is said to have daily increased to the hour of his death.

It

It is true, the clergy of this kingdom, who are promoted to *bishopricks*, have always some great advantages; either that of rich deaneries, opulent and multiplied rectories and dignities, strong alliances by birth or marriage, fortified by a superlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but however, they were all at first no more than young beginners; and before their great promotion were known by their plain *christian* names among their old companions, the middling rate of *clergymen*; nor could therefore be strangers to their condition, or with any good grace forget it so soon, as it hath too often happened.

I confess, I do not remember to have observ'd any body of men acting with so little concert, as our *clergy* have done in a point, where their opinions appeared to be unanimous: a point wherein their whole temporal support was concerned, as well as their power of serving God and his church in their spiritual functions. This hath been imputed to their fear of disobliging, or hopes of further favours upon compliance; because it was observed, that some who appeared at first with the greatest zeal, thought fit suddenly to absent themselves from the usual meetings: yet we know, what expert *solicitors* the *quakers*, the *dissenters*, and even the *papists* have sometimes found to drive a point of advantage, or prevent an impending evil.

I have not seen any extract from the two bills introduced by the bishops into the privy council; where the clergy, upon some failure in favour, or through the timorousness of many among their brethren, were refused to be heard by the council. It seems, these bills were both returned, agreed to by the king and council in *England*, and the *house of lords* hath with great expedition passed them both; and it is said, they are immediately to be sent down to the *commons* for their consent.

The particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follow:

By one of the bills, the bishops have power to oblige the country

try clergy to build a mansion-house upon whatever part of their glebes their lordships shall command; and if the living be above 50 *l.* a year, the minister is bound to build after three years a house that shall cost one year and a half's rent of his income. For instance, if a clergyman with a wife and seven children gets a living of 55 *l. per annum*, he must after three years build a house that shall cost 77 *l.* 10 *s.* and must support his family, during the time the bishop shall appoint for the building of it, with the remainder. But if the living be under 50 *l.* a year, the minister shall be allowed 100 *l.* out of the first fruits.

But there is said to be one circumstance a little extraordinary; that if there be a single spot in the glebe more barren, more marshy, more exposed to the winds, more distant from the church or skeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building; the rector, or vicar may be obliged by the caprice, or pique of the bishop, to build, under pain of sequestration (an office, which ever falls into the most knavish hands) upon whatever point his *lordship* shall command; although the farmers have not paid one quarter of his dues.

I believe, under the present distresses of the kingdom (which inevitably without a miracle must increase for ever) there are not ten country clergymen in *Ireland*, reputed to possess a parish of 100 *l. per annum*, who for some years past have actually received 60 *l.* and that with the utmost difficulty and vexation. I am therefore at a loss, what kind of valuers the *bishops* will make use of; and whether the starving *vicar* shall be forced to build his house with the money he never received.

The other bill, which passed in two days after the former, is said to concern the division of parishes into as many parcels as the *bishop* shall think fit, only leaving 300 *l.* a year to the *mother church*; which 300 *l.* by another *act* passed some years ago they can divide likewise, and crumble as low as their will and pleasure will dispose them. So, that instead of six hundred clergymen, which,

which, I think, is the usual computation, we may have in a small compass of years almost as many thousands to live with decency and comfort, provide for their children, be charitable to the poor, and maintain hospitality.

But it is very reasonable to hope, and heartily to be wished by all those, who have the least regard to our holy religion as hitherto established, or to a learned pious diligent conversable *clergyman*, or even to common humanity, that the *honourable house of commons* will, in their great wisdom justice and tenderness to innocent men, consider these bills in another light. It is said, they well know this kingdom not to be so over-stocked with neighbouring gentry, but a discreet learned *clergyman*, with a competency fit for one of his education, may be an entertaining, a useful, and sometimes a necessary companion. That, although such a clergyman may not be able constantly to find *beef* and *wine* for his own family, yet he may be allowed sometimes to afford both to a neighbour without distressing himself; and the rather, because he may expect at least as good a return. It will probably be considered, that in many desolate parts there may not be always a sufficient number of persons considerable enough to be trusted with *commissions of the peace*, which several of the *clergy* now supply much better, than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate *vicar* from twenty to fifty pounds a year, the son of a *weaver*, *pedlar*, *taylor*, or *mill*, can be presumed to do.

The landlords and farmers by this scheme can find no profit, but will certainly be losers. For instance, if the large northern livings be split into a dozen parishes or more, it will be very necessary for the little threadbare *gownman*, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who can crawl, to watch the fields at harvest time for fear of losing a single sheaf, which he could not afford under peril of a day's starving: for, according to the *Scotch* proverb, *a hungry louse bites sore*. This would of necessity breed an

infinite number of wrangles and litigious suits in the spiritual courts; and put the wretched *pastor* at perpetual variance with his whole parish. But, as they have hitherto stood, a clergyman established in a competent living is not under the necessity of being so sharp, vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary, it is well known and allowed, that the clergy round the kingdom think themselves well treated, if they lose only one single third of their legal demands.

The honourable house may perhaps be inclined to conceive, that my *lords* the *bishops* enjoy as ample a power both spiritual and temporal, as will fully suffice to answer every branch of their office; that they want no laws to regulate the conduct of those clergymen, over whom they preside; that, if non-residence be a grievance, it is the patron's fault, who makes not a better choice, or caused the plurality; that, if the general impartial character of persons chosen into the church had been more regarded, and the motive of *party, alliance, kindred, flatterers, ill-judgment, or personal favour* regarded less, there would be fewer complaints of non-residence, want of care, blameable behaviour, or any other part of misconduct; not to mention *ignorance and stupidity*.

I could name certain gentlemen of the *gown*, whose awkward, spruce, prim, sneering, and smirking countenances, the very tone of their voices, and an ungainly strut in their walk, without one single talent for any one office, have contrived to get good preferment by the mere force of *flattery and cringing*: for which two virtues (the only two virtues they pretend to) they were, however, utterly unqualified: and whom, if I were in power, although they were my *nephews*, or had married my *nieces*, I could never in point of good conscience or honour have recommended to a *curacy* in *Connaught*.

The *honourable house of commons* may likewise perhaps consider, that the gentry of this kingdom differ from all others up-
on

on earth, being less capable of employments in their own country, than any others who come from abroad; and, that most of them have little expectation of providing for their younger children otherwise than by the church, in which there might be some hopes of getting a tolerable maintenance. For after the patrons should have settled their *sons*, their *nephews*, their *nieces*, their *dependents*, and their *followers* invited over from the other side, there would still remain an overplus of smaller church preferments to be given to such clergy of the nation, who shall have their *quantum* of whatever merit may be then in fashion. But by these bills they will be all as absolutely excluded, as if they had passed under the denomination of *tories*; unless they can be contented at the utmost with 50 *l.* a year; which by the difficulties of collecting tythes in *Ireland*, and the daily increasing miseries of the people, will hardly rise to half that sum.

It is observed, that the *divines* sent over hither to govern this church have not seemed to consider the difference between both kingdoms with respect to the inferior *clergy*. As to themselves indeed, they find a large revenue in lands let at one quarter value, which consequently must be paid while there is a penny left among us; and the publick distress so little affects their interests, that their fines are now higher than ever: they content themselves to suppose, that whatever a parish is said to be worth, comes all into the *parson's* pocket.

The poverty of great numbers among the clergy of *England* hath been the continual complaint of all men, who wish well to the church, and many schemes have been thought on to redress it; yet an *English vicar* of 40 *l.* a year lives much more comfortably than one of double the value in *Ireland*. His farmers, generally speaking, are able and willing to pay him his full dues: he hath a decent church of ancient standing, filled every *Lord's day* with a large congregation of plain people, well clad, and behaving themselves as if they believed in GOD and CHRIST. He

hath a house and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No guest expects more from him than a pot of ale: he lives like an honest plain farmer, as his wife is dressed but little better than *goody*. He is sometimes graciously invited by the squire, where he sits at an humble distance: if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little useful presents: he is happy by being born to no higher expectation; for he is usually the son of some ordinary tradesman, or middling farmer. His learning is much of a size with his birth and education; no more of either, than what a poor hungry *servitor* can be expected to bring with him from his *college*. It would be tedious to shew the reverse of all this in our distant poorer parishes through most parts of *Ireland*, wherein every reader may make the comparison.

Lastly, the *honourable house of commons* may consider, whether the scheme of multiplying beggarly *clergymen* through the whole kingdom, who must all have votes for choosing parliament men (provided they can prove their freeholds to be worth 40*s.* *per annum, ultra reprisas*) may not, by their numbers, have great influence upon *elections*; being entirely under the dependence of their *bishops*. For by a moderate computation after all the divisions and subdivisions of parishes, that my *lords* the *bishops* have power to make by their new laws, there will, as soon as the present set of clergy goes off, be raised an army of *ecclesiastical militants* able enough for any kind of service, except that of the altar.

I am indeed in some concern about a fund for building a thousand or two churches, wherein these probationers may read their *wall lectures*; and begin to doubt they must be contented with *barns*; which *barns* will be one great advancing step towards an accommodation with our *true protestant brethren*, the *dissenters*.

The scheme of encouraging *clergymen* to build houses by dividing

viding a living of 500 *l.* a year into ten parts is a contrivance, the meaning whereof hath got on the wrong side of my comprehension; unless it may be argued, that *bishops* build no houses, because they are so rich; and therefore the inferior *clergy* will certainly build, if you reduce them to beggary. But I knew a very rich man of quality in *England*, who could never be persuaded to keep a *servant* out of *livery*; because such servants would be expensive, and apt in time to look like gentlemen; whereas the others were ready to submit to the basest offices, and at a cheaper pennyworth might increase his retinue.

I hear, it is the opinion of many wise men, that before these bills pass both houses, they should be sent back to *England* with the following clauses inserted.

First, that whereas there may be about a dozen double *bishopricks* in *Ireland*, those *bishopricks* should be split and given to different persons; and those of a single denomination be also divided into two, three, or four parts, as occasion shall require; otherwise there may be a question started, whether twenty-two *prelates* can effectually extend their paternal care, and unlimited power, for the protection and correction of so great a number of spiritual *subjects*. But this proposal will meet with such furious objections, that I shall not insist upon it: for I well remember to have read, what a terrible fright the *frogs* were in upon a report, that the *sun* was going to marry.

Another clause should be, that none of these twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be suffered to marry under the penalty of immediate deprivation; their marriages declared *null*, and their children bastards: for some desponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging so numerous a breed of beggars.

A third clause will be necessary, that these humble gentry should be absolutely disqualified from giving votes in *elections* for *parliament men*.

Other

Others add a fourth ; which is a clause of indulgence, that these reduced *divines* may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their spiritual offices : (for, unless I misapprehend, they are supposed to have *episcopal ordination*.) For example ; they may be lappers of linen, bayliffs of the manor ; they may let blood, or apply plaisters for three miles round : they may get a dispensation to hold the *clerkship* and *sextonship* of their own parish in *commendam*. Their wives and daughters may make shirts for the neighbourhood ; or, if a *barrack* be near, for the *soldiers* : in linen countries they may *card* and *spin*, and keep a few looms in the house : they may let lodgings, and sell a pot of ale without doors, but not at home, unless to sober company, and at regular hours. It is by some thought a little hard, that in an affair of the last consequence to the very being of the *clergy* in the points of liberty and property, as well as in their abilities to perform their duty, this whole reverend body, who are the established instructors of the nation in christianity and moral virtues, and are the only persons concerned, should be the sole persons not consulted. Let any scholar shew the like precedent in *Christendom* for twelve hundred years past. An act of parliament for settling or selling an estate in a private family is never passed, until all parties give consent. But in the present case the whole body of the *clergy* is, as themselves apprehend, determined to utter ruin without once expecting or asking their opinion ; and this by a scheme contrived only by *one part* of the *convocation*, while the other part, which hath been chosen in the usual forms, wants only the regal permission to assemble, and consult about the affairs of the church, as their predecessors have always done in former ages : where it is presumed, the *lower house* hath a power of proposing canons and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And God forbid (say these objectors) that there should be a real separate interest between the bishops and clergy, any
more

more than there is between a man and his wife, a king and his people, or CHRIST and his church.

It seems there is a provision in the bill, that no parish shall be cut into scraps without the consent of several persons, who can be no sufferers in the matter : but I cannot find that the *clergy* lay much weight on this caution ; because they argue, that the very persons from whom these bills took their rise, will have the greatest share in the decision.

I do not by any means conceive the crying sin of the *clergy* in this kingdom to be that of *non-residence*. I am sure, it is many degrees less so here than in *England* ; unless the possession of pluralities may pass under that name ; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it must be imputed : I believe, upon a fair enquiry (and I hear an enquiry is to be made) they will appear to be most pardonably few ; especially, considering how many parishes have not an inch of *glebe*, and how difficult it is upon any reasonable terms to find a place of habitation. And therefore, God knows whether my lords the *bishops* will be soon able to convince the *clergy*, or those who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their *lordships* minds by procuring these bills was to prevent the sin of *non-residence* ; while the universal opinion of almost every *clergyman* in the kingdom, without distinction of party, taking in even those who are not likely to be sufferers, stands directly against them.

If some livings in the *north* may be justly thought too large a compass of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remotest inhabitants to attend the service of the church, which in some instances may be true, no reasonable *clergyman* would oppose a proper remedy by particular acts of parliament.

Thus for instance the *deanry of Down*, a country *deanry* I think without a cathedral, depending wholly upon an union of parishes joined together in a time, when the land lay waste and thinly inhabited ; since those circumstances are so prodigiously changed
for

for the better, may properly be lessened, leaving a decent competency to the *dean*, and placing *rectories* in the remaining churches, which are now served only by stipendiary *curates*.

The case may be probably the same in other parts: and such a proceeding discreetly managed would be truly for the good of the church.

For it is to be observed, that the dean and chapter lands, which in *England* were all seized under the fanatick usurpation, are things unknown in *Ireland*, having been long ravished from the church by a succession of confusions, and tythes applied in their stead to support that ecclesiastical dignity.

The late * *archbishop of Dublin* had a very different way of encouraging the *clergy* of his diocese to residence: when a lease had run out seven years or more, he stipulated with the tenant to resign up twenty or thirty acres to the minister of the parish where it lay convenient, without lessening his former rent; and with no great abatement of the fine; and this he did in the parts near *Dublin*, where land is at the highest rates, leaving a small chiefry for the minister to pay, hardly a sixth part of the value. I doubt not, that almost every *bishop* in the kingdom may do the same generous act with less damage to their sees, than his late *grace of Dublin*; much of whose lands were out in fee-farms, or leases for lives; and I am sorry that the good example of such a *prelate* hath not been followed.

But a great majority of the *clergy's* friends cannot hitherto reconcile themselves to this project; which they call a *levelling principle*, that must inevitably root out the seeds of all honest emulation, the legal parent of the greatest virtue and most generous actions among men; but which in the general opinion (for I do not pretend to offer my own) will never more have room to exert itself in the breast of any *clergyman*, whom this kingdom shall produce.

* The right reverend Dr. WILLIAM KING.

But

But, whether the consequences of these bills may, by the virtues and frailties of future *bishops* sent over hither to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I shall not presume to determine, since God can work the *former* out of the *latter*. However, one thing I can venture to assert; that from the earliest ages of christianity to the minute I am now writing, there never was a precedent of such a proceeding, much less was it to be feared, hoped, or apprehended from such hands in any christian country; and so it may pass for more than a *phoenix*; because it hath risen without any assistance from the *ashes* of its *fire*.

The appearance of so many *dissenters* at the hearing of this cause is what, I am told, hath not been charged to the account of their prudence or moderation; because that action hath been censured as a mark of *triumph* and insult before the *victory* is complete: since neither of these bills hath yet passed the *house of commons*, and some are pleased to think it not impossible that they may be * rejected. Neither do I hear, that there is an enacting clause in either of the bills to apply any part of the divided or sub-divided tythes towards encreasing the stipends of the *sectaries*. So that these gentlemen seem to be gratified like him, who after having been kicked down stairs took comfort, when he saw his friend kicked down after him.

I have heard many more objections against several particulars of both these bills; but they are of a high nature, and carry such dreadful *innuendoes*, that I dare not mention them, resolving to give no offence, because I well know how obnoxious I have long been (although I conceive without any fault of my own) to the zeal and principles of those, who place all difference in opinion concerning publick matters to the score of *disaffection*; whereof I am at least as innocent as the loudest of my *detractors*.

Dublin, Feb. 24th,

1731-2.

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* They were rejected in the *house of commons* by a great majority.

A
P R O P O S A L
F O R A N
A C T O F P A R L I A M E N T

To pay off the DEBTS of the Nation, without Taxing the Subject;

*By which the Number of landed Gentry and substantial Farmers will be considerably increased, and no Person will be the poorer, or contribute one Farthing to the Charge.**

Written in the Year 1731.

THE debts contracted some years past for the service and safety of the nation are grown so great, that under our present distressed condition by the want of trade, the great remittances to pay *absentees*, regiments serving abroad, and many other drains of money well enough known and felt, the kingdom seems altogether unable to discharge them by the common methods of payment: and either a *poll* or *land tax* would be too odious to think of, especially the latter; because the lands, which have been let for these ten or dozen years past, were raised so high, that the owner can at present hardly receive any rent at all. For it is the usual practice of an *Irish* tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay; and in that case he grows desperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a *land tax* upon a rack'd estate would be a burthen wholly insupportable.

The question will then be, how these national debts can be paid; and how I can make good the several particulars of my proposal; which I shall now lay open to the publick.

* The reader will perceive the following treatise to be altogether ironical.

The

The revenues of their graces and lordships the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) do amount by a moderate computation to 36,800 *l. per ann.* I mean the rents, which the bishops receive from their tenants. But the real value of those lands at a full rent, taking the several fees one with another, is reckoned to be at least three fourths more; so that, multiplying 36,800 *l.* by 4, the full rent of all the bishops lands will amount to 147,200 *l. per ann.* from which subtracting the present rent received by their lordships, that is 36,800 *l.* the profits of the lands received by the first and second tenants, (who both have great bargains) will rise to the sum of 110,400 *l. per ann.*: which lands, if they were to be sold at twenty-two years purchase, would raise a sum of 2,428,800 *l.* reserving to the bishops their present rents, only excluding fines.

Of this sum I propose that out of the one half, which amounts to 1,214,400 *l.* so much be applied, as will intirely discharge the debts of the nation; and the remainder be laid up in the treasury to supply contingencies, as well as to discharge some of our heavy taxes, until the kingdom shall be in a better condition.

But, whereas the present set of bishops would be great losers by this scheme for want of their fines; which would be hard treatment to such *religious, loyal, and deserving* personages; I have therefore set apart the other half to supply that defect, which it will more than sufficiently do.

A bishop's lease for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years purchase; but if we take the bishops round, I suppose there may be four years of each lease elapsed; and many of the bishops being well stricken in years, I cannot think their lives round to be worth more than seven years purchase; so that the purchasers may very well afford fifteen years purchase for the reversion, especially by one great additional advantage, which I shall soon mention.

This sum of 2,428,800 *l.* must likewise be sunk very considerably; because the lands are to be sold only at fifteen years purchase,

chafe, and this lessens the sum to about 1,656,000 £. of which I propose twelve hundred thousand pounds to be applied partly for the payment of the national debt, and partly as a fund for future exigences; and the remaining 456,000 £. I propose as a fund for paying the present set of bishops their fines; which it will abundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the publick stock.

Although the bishops round do not in reality receive three fines a-piece, which take up 21 years, yet I allow it to be so; but then I will suppose them to take but one year's rent in recompence of giving them so large a term of life; and thus multiplying 36,800 by 3, the product will be only 110,400 £. so that above three fourths will remain to be applied to publick use.

If I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excused as a stranger to the kingdom; which I never saw till I was called to an employment, and yet where I intend to pass the rest of my days; but I took care to get the best informations I could, and from the most proper persons; however the mistakes I may have been guilty of will very little affect the main of my proposal; although they should cause a difference of one hundred thousand pounds more or less.

These fines are only to be paid to the bishop during his incumbency in the same see: if he change it for a better, the purchasers of the vacant see lands are to come immediately into possession of the see he hath left; and both the bishop who is removed, and he who comes into his place, are to have no more fines; for the removed bishop will find his account by a larger revenue; and the other see will find candidates enough. For the law maxim will here have place: *caveat emptor*; I mean, the persons who succeed may chuse whether they will accept or no.

As to the purchasers, they will probably be tenants to the see, who are already in possession, and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will further explain my self. If a person already a bishop
be

be removed into a richer see, he must be content with the bare revenues without any fines; and so must he, who comes into a bishoprick vacant by death: and this will bring the matter sooner to bear; which, if the crown shall think fit to countenance, will soon change the present set of bishops; and consequently encourage purchasers of their lands. For example: if a primate should die, and the gradation be wisely made, almost the whole set of bishops might be changed in a month, each to his great advantage, although no fines were to be got; and thereby save a great part of that sum, which I have appropriated towards supplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the bishops lands two years purchase above the usual computed rate, because those lands will have a sanction from the king and council in *England*, and be confirmed by an act of parliament here: besides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worse lands, at the remotest distances, and at rack-rents, which I take to be occasioned by want of trade: when there are few borrowers, and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way to dispose of it, but in buying of land; which consequently makes the owners hold it so high.

Besides paying the nation's debts, the sale of these lands would have many other good effects upon the nation. It will considerably increase the number of gentry, where the bishops tenants are not able or willing to purchase; for the lands will afford an hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each: several persons from *England* will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the buyers, rather than give thirty years purchase at home under the loads of taxes for the publick and the poor, as well as repairs; by which means much money may be brought among us; and probably some of the purchasers themselves may be content to live cheap in a worse country, rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies; and perhaps of *non-solvencies* in absence, if they let their lands too high.

This

This propofal will alfo multiply farmers, when the purchafers will have lands in their own power to give long and eafy leafes to induftrious husbandmen.

I have allowed fome bishopricks, of equal income, to be of more or lefs value to the purchafer, according as they are circumftanced. For inftance: the lands of the primacy and fome other fees are let fo low, that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the bifhop, and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the fees of *Meath* and *Clonfert* confifting, as I am told, much of tythes, thofe tythes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the fee of *Dublin* is faid to have many fee-farms, which pay no fines; and fome leafes for lives, which pay very little, and not fo soon nor fo duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their graces my lords the arch-bifhops, and my lords the bifhops, will heartily join in this propofal out of gratitude to his late and prefent majefty, the beft of kings, who have beftowed on them fuch high and opulent ftations; as well as in pity to this country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be instrumental towards paying the nation's debts without impoverifhing themfelves; enrich an hundred gentlemen as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy, which is apt to fall upon their graces and lordfhips from confiderable perfons, whole birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than fervile dependents upon churchmen however dignified or diftinguifhed.

If I do not flatter my felf, there could not be any law more popular than this. For the immediate tenants to bifhops, being fome of them perfons of quality and good eftates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen by the profits of thefe very leafes under a fucceffion of bifhops, think it a difgrace to be fubject both to rents and fines at the pleafure of their landlords. Then, the bulk of the tenants, efpecially the *difsenters*, who are our *true loyal* proteftant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatural and iniquitous thing, that bifhops fhould be owners of
land

land at all, (wherein I beg to differ from them) being a point so contrary to the practice of the apostles, whose successors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that land should be sold for the common use of the brethren, yet would not buy it themselves; but had it laid at their feet to be distributed to poor profelytes.

I will add one word more; that by such a wholesome law all the oppressions felt by under-tenants of church leases, which are now laid on the bishops, would entirely be prevented, by their graces and lordships consenting to have their lands sold for payment of the nation's debts; reserving only the present rent for their own plentiful and honourable support.

I beg leave to add one particular; that, when heads of a bill (as I find the style runs in this kingdom) shall be brought in for forming this proposal into a law, I should humbly offer, that there might be a power given to every bishop, except those who reside in *Dublin*, for applying one hundred acres of profitable land, that lies nearest his palace, as a demesne for the convenience of his family.

I know very well, that this scheme hath been much talked of for some time past, and is in the thoughts of many patriots; neither was it properly mine, although I fell readily into it, when it was first communicated to me.

Although I am almost a perfect stranger in this kingdom; yet since I have accepted an employment here of some consequence as well as profit, I cannot but think my self in duty bound to consult the interest of people, among whom I have been so well received. And if I can be any way instrumental towards contributing to reduce this excellent proposal into a law (which being not in the least injurious to *England* will, I am confident, meet with no opposition from that side) my sincere endeavours to serve this church and kingdom will be well rewarded.

A N E X A M I N A T I O N

O F

*Certain Abuses, Corruptions, and Enormities, in
the City of Dublin.*

Written in the Year 1732.

Nothing is held more commendable in all great cities, especially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the *French* call the *police*: by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many disorders occasioned by great numbers of people and carriages, especially through narrow streets. In this government our famous city of *Dublin* is said to be very defective, and universally complained of. Many wholesome laws have been enacted to correct those abuses, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting; which I hope the united wisdom of the nation (whereof so many good effects have already appeared this session) will soon take into their profound consideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly for that of our renowned city, where (*absit invidia*) I had the honour to draw my first breath; I cannot have a minute's ease or patience to forbear enumerating some of the greatest enormities, abuses, and corruptions spread almost through every part of *Dublin*; and proposing such remedies, as I hope the legislature will approve of. The narrow compass, to which I have confined my self in this paper, will allow me only to touch the most important defects; and such as I think seem to require the most speedy redress.

And first; perhaps there was never known a wiser institution, than that of allowing certain persons of both sexes in large
and

and populous cities to cry through the streets many necessities of life: it would be endless to recount the conveniencies, which our city enjoys by this useful invention; and particularly strangers forced hither by business, who reside here but a short time: for these, having usually but little money, and being wholly ignorant of the town, might at an easy price purchase a tolerable dinner, if the several criers would pronounce the names of the goods they have to sell in any tolerable language. And therefore, until our law-makers shall think it proper to interpose so far as to make those traders pronounce their words in such terms, that a plain christian hearer may comprehend what is cried, I would advise all new comers to look out at their garret windows, and there see whether the thing that is cried be *tripes*, or *flummery*, *buttermilk*, or *cow-beels*. For as things are now managed, how is it possible for an honest countryman just arrived to find out what is meant, for instance, by the following words, with which his ears are constantly stunned twice a day, *muggs*, *juggs*, and *porringers*, *up in the garret*, and *down in the cellar*; I say, how is it possible for any stranger to understand, that this jargon is meant as an invitation to buy a farthing's worth of milk for his breakfast or supper, unless his curiosity draws him to the window, or until his landlady shall inform him? I produce this only as one instance among a hundred much worse, I mean, where the words make a sound wholly inarticulate, which give so much disturbance, and so little information.

The affirmation solemnly made in the cry of *berrings* is directly against all truth and probability; *berrings alive*, *alive here*; the very proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary speech, than to say of some neighbour for whom the passing bell rings, that *he is dead as a herring*. And pray how is it possible, that a *herring*, which, as *philosophers* observe, cannot live longer than one minute three seconds and a half out of water, should bear a voyage in open boats from *Howth* to *Dublin*,

lin, be tossed into twenty hands, and preserve its life in sieves for several hours? nay, we have witnesses ready to produce, that many thousands of these *berrings*, so impudently asserted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worst. What can we think of those impious wretches, who dare in the face of the sun vouch the very same affirmative of their *salmon*, and cry *salmon alive, alive*; whereas, if you call the woman who cries it, she is not ashamed to turn back her mantle, and shew you this individual *salmon* cut into a dozen pieces. I have given good advice to these infamous disgracers of their sex and calling, without the least appearance of remorse, and fully against the conviction of their own consciences; I have mentioned this grievance to several of our parish ministers; but all in vain: so that it must continue, until the government shall think fit to interpose.

There is another *cry*, which, from the strictest observation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that of * *sweet hearts*; and is plainly intended for a reflection upon the female sex; as if there were at present so great a dearth of lovers, that the women, instead of receiving presents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchase *sweet hearts*. Neither am I sure, that this *cry* doth not glance at some disaffection against the government; insinuating, that while so many of our troops are engaged in foreign service, and such a great number of our gallant officers constantly reside in *England*, the ladies are forced to take up with *parsons* and *attornies*: but this is a most unjust reflection, as may soon be proved by any person who frequents the *castle*, our publick walks, our balls and assemblies; where the crowds of † *toupees* were never known to swarm as they do at present.

* A sort of sugar-cakes in the shape of hearts.

† A new name for a modern periwig with a long black tail, and for its owner; now in fashion, Dec. 1, 1733.

There

There is a *cry* peculiar to this city, which I do not remember to have been used in *London*; or at least, not in the same terms that it hath been practised by both parties, during each of their power, but very unjustly by the *tories*. While these were at the helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true *whigs* and *Hanoverians* out of employments: to effect which, they hired certain ordinary fellows with large baskets on their shoulders to call aloud at every house, *dirt to carry out*; giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would signify, that the kingdom could never be *cleansed*, until we were *swept* from the earth like *rubbish*. But since that happy turn of times, when we were so *miraculously* preserved by just an *inch* from *popery*, *slavery*, *massacre*, and the *pretender*, I must own it is prudence in us still to go on with the same *cry*; which hath ever since been so effectually observed, that the true *political dirt* is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities: every person, who walks the streets, must needs observe an immense number of human excrements at the doors and steps of waste houses, and at the sides of every dead wall; for which the disaffected party hath assigned a very false and malicious cause: they would have it, that these heaps were laid there privately by *British fundamentals* to make the world believe, that our *Irish* vulgar do daily eat and drink; and consequently that the clamour of poverty among us must be false, proceeding only from *jacobites* and *papists*. They would confirm this by pretending to observe, that a *British anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of these excrements, upon a strict view appearing copple-crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are easily distinguished from the *Hibernian*, which lie much flatter and with less continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent physician, who is well versed in such profound speculations;

and at my request was pleased to make trial with each of his fingers, by thrusting them into the *anus* of several persons of both nations, and professed he could find no such difference between them as those ill-disposed people alledge. On the contrary, he assured me, that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of *Hibernian* origin. This I only mention, to shew how ready the *jacobites* are to lay hold of any handle to express their malice against the government. I had almost forgot to add, that my friend the physician could by smelling each finger distinguish the *Hibernian* excrement from the *British*, and was not above twice mistaken in an hundred experiments; upon which he intends very soon to publish a learned dissertation.

There is a diversion in this city, which usually begins among the *butchers*; but is often continued by a succession of other people through many streets; it is called the COSSING of a dog: and I may justly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus: a strange dog happens to pass through a flesh-market; whereupon an expert *butcher* immediately cries in a loud voice and the proper tone, *cofs, cofs*, several times. The same word is repeated by the people. The dog, who perfectly understands the terms of art, and consequently the danger he is in, immediately flies. The people, and even his own *brother animals* pursue: the pursuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile; he is well worried in his flight; and sometimes hardly escapes. This our ill-wishers of the *jacobite* kind are pleased to call a *persecution*; and affirm, that it always falls upon *dogs* of the *tory* principle. But we can well defend ourselves by justly alledging, that, when they were uppermost, they treated our *dogs* full as inhumanly. As to my own part, who have in former times often attended these *processions*, although I can very well distinguish between a *whig* and *tory dog*, yet I never carried my resentment very far from a *party principle*, except it were against certain malicious *dogs*, who most discovered their enmity against us in the

the worst of times†. And I remember too well, that in the wicked ministry of the earl of *Oxford* a large mastiff of our party, being unmercifully *coffed*, ran without thinking between my legs, as I was coming up *Fishamble-street*; and, as I am of low stature with very short legs, bore me riding backwards down the hill for above two hundred yards: and although I made use of his tail for a bridle, holding it fast with both my hands, and clung my legs as close to his sides as I could; yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel; where after rowling three or four times over each other, I got up with much ado amidst the shouts and huzzas of a thousand malicious *jacobites*. I cannot indeed but gratefully acknowledge, that for this and many other *services* and *sufferings* * I have been since more than over-paid.

This adventure may perhaps have put me out of love with the diversion of *coffing*, which I confess myself an enemy to, unless we could always be sure of distinguishing *tory dogs*; whereof great numbers have since been so prudent, as entirely to change their principles, and are now justly esteemed the best *worriers* of their former friends.

I am assured, and partly know, that all the chimney-sweepers boys, where members of parliament chiefly lodge, are hired by *our enemies* to sculk in the tops of chimnies with their heads no higher, than will just permit them to look round; and at the usual hours when members are going to the house, if they see a coach stand near the lodging of any *loyal* member, they call *coach, coach*, as loud as they can bawl, just at the instant when the footman begins to give the same call. And this is chiefly done on those days, when any point of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous consequence; for these boys are all hired by enemies to the government: and thus by the

† A cant word used by the *whigs* for the four last years of queen *Anne's* reign, during the earl of *Oxford's* ministry.

* See the apology for the *Tale of a Tub*.

absence of a few members for a few minutes a question may be carried against the *true interest* of the kingdom, and very probably not without an eye towards the *pretender*.

I have not observed the wit and fancy of this town so much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of signs to hang over houses, where *punch* is to be sold. The bowl is represented full of *punch*, the ladle stands erect in the middle, supported sometimes by one and sometimes by two animals, whose feet rest upon the edge of the bowl. These animals are sometimes one black *lion*, and sometimes a couple; sometimes a single *eagle*, and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a *crow*, a *swan*, a *bear*, or a *cock*, in the same posture.

Now, I cannot find how any of these animals either separate or in conjunction are, properly speaking, fit emblems or embellishments to advance the sale of *punch*. Besides it is agreed among *naturalists*, that no brute can endure the taste of strong liquor, except where he hath been used to it from his infancy; and consequently it is against all the rules of *hieroglyph* to assign those animals as patrons or protectors of *punch*. For in that case we ought to suppose, that the host keeps always ready the real bird or beast, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his guests; which however to my knowledge is not true in fact; not one of those birds being a proper companion for a *christian*, as to aiding and assisting in making the *punch*. For as they are drawn upon the sign, they are much more likely to mute, or shed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the *bear*, he is too terrible, awkward, and slovenly a companion to converse with; neither are any of them all *bandy* enough to fill liquor to the company: I do therefore vehemently suspect a *plot* intended against the government by these devices. For although the *spread-eagle* be the arms of *Germany*, upon which account it may possibly be a lawful *protestant* sign, yet I, who am very suspicious of fair outsides in a matter, which so nearly concerns our welfare, cannot

cannot but call to mind, that the *pretender's* wife is said to be of *German* birth: and that many *popish* princes in so vast an extent of land are reported to excel both at making and drinking *punch*: besides it is plain, that the *spread-eagle* exhibits to us the perfect figure of a *cross*; which is a badge of *popery*. Then as to the *cock*, he is well known to represent the *French* nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The *swan*, who must of necessity cover the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the *Spaniard*, who endeavours to engross all the treasures of the *Indies* to himself. The *lion* is indeed the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of *England*; but to paint him black is perfect *jacobitism*, and a manifest type of those who *blacken* the actions of the best princes. It is not easy to distinguish, whether that other fowl painted over the *punch-bowl* be a *crow* or a *raven*. It is true, they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; because it is the disposition of a *crow* to pick out the eyes of other creatures; and often even of *christians*, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a design to put the *jacobites* in mind of their old practice, first to lull us asleep (which is an emblem of death) and then to blind our eyes, that we may not see their dangerous practices against the state.

To speak my private opinion; the least offensive picture in the whole sett seems to be the *bear*; because he represents *ursa major*, or the *great bear*, who presides over the *north*, where the *reformation* first began; and which, next to *Britain* (including *Scotland* and the *north* of *Ireland*) is the great protector of the *true protestant* religion. But however in those signs, where I observe the *bear* to be *chained*, I cannot help surmising a *jacobite* contrivance; by which these traytors hint an earnest desire of using all *true whigs*, as their predecessors did the primitive christians: I mean, to represent us as *bears*, and then halloo their *tory-dogs* to bait us to death.

Thus

Thus I have given a fair account of what I dislike in all the signs set over those houses, that invite us to *punch*. I own it was a matter, that did not need explaining, being so very obvious to common understanding; yet I know not how it happens, but methinks there seems a fatal blindness to overspread our corporeal eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wish, I may be found a false prophet. For these are not bare suspicions, but manifest demonstrations.

Therefore, away with these *popish*, *jacobite*, and idolatrous gew-gaws. And I heartily wish a law were enacted under severe penalties against drinking *punch* at all; for nothing is easier, than to prove it a disaffected liquor: the chief ingredients, which are *brandy*, *oranges* and *lemons*, are all sent us from *popish* countries; and nothing remains of *protestant* growth, but *sugar* and *water*. For as to biscuit, which formerly was held a necessary ingredient, and is truly *British*, we find it is entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my assertion past all doubt: I mean, that this liquor is by one important innovation grown of ill example, and dangerous consequence to the publick. It is well known, that by the true original institution of making *punch* left us by captain *Ratcliff* the sharpness is only occasioned by the juice of *lemons*; and so continued until after the happy *revolution*. *Oranges*, alas! are a mere innovation, and in a manner *but of yesterday*. It was the politicks of *jacobites* to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? the thing speaks itself. It was cunningly to shew their virulence against his sacred majesty king *William of ever glorious and immortal memory*. But of late (to shew how fast disloyalty increaseth) they came from one to two, and then to three *oranges*; nay at present we often find *punch* made all with *oranges*, and not one single *lemon*. For the *jacobites* before the death of that immortal prince had by a superstition formed a private prayer, that as they squeezed the *orange*, so might that *protestant* king be squeezed to death; according to the known *sorcery* described by *Virgil*; *Limus*

Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit, etc.

And, thus the *Romans*, when they sacrificed an ox, used this kind of prayer; *as I knock down this ox, so may'st thou, O Jupiter! knock down our enemies.* In like manner after king *William's* death, whenever a *jacobite* squeezed an orange, he had a mental curse upon the *glorious memory*, and a hearty wish for power to squeeze all his majesty's friends to death, as he squeezed that orange, which bore one of his titles, as he was prince of *Orange*. This I do affirm for truth, many of that faction having confessed it to me under an *oath of secrecy*, which however I thought it my duty not to keep, when I saw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an *impious* set of men, who never scruple to drink *CONFUSION* to all *true protestants* under the name of *whigs*? A most unchristian and inhuman practice; *which to our great honour and comfort was never charged upon us, even by our most malicious detractors.*

The sign of two *angels* hovering in the air, and with their right hands supporting a *crown*, is met with in several parts of this city; and hath often given me great offence: for, whether by the unskilfulness or dangerous principles of the painters (although I have good reasons to suspect the latter) those *angels* are usually drawn with such horrid, or indeed rather diabolical *countenances*, that they give great offence to every loyal eye, and equal cause of triumph to the *jacobites*, being a most infamous reflection upon our able and excellent ministry.

I now return to that great enormity of city *cries*; most of which we have borrowed from *London*. I shall consider them only in a *political* view, as they nearly affect the peace and safety of both kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked *Machiavels* to bring in *popery*, *slavery*, and *arbitrary power* by defeating the *protestant* succession, and introducing the *pretender*, ought in justice to be here laid open to the world.

About two or three months after the happy *revolution* all per-

sons, who possess'd any employment or office in church or state, were obliged by an act of parliament to take the oaths to king *William* and queen *Mary*: and a great number of disaffected persons refusing to take the said oaths from a pretended scruple of conscience, but really from a spirit of *popery* and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the swearing to those princes odious in the eyes of the people. To this end, they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud shrill voices, under pretence of selling fish, to go through the streets with sieves on their heads, and cry, *buy my soul, buy my soul*; plainly insinuating, that all those, who swore to king *William*, were just ready to sell their *souls* for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of queen *Anne*, and, I hear, still continues in *London* with much offence to all *true protestants*; but to our great happiness seems to be almost dropt in *Dublin*.

But because I altogether condemn the displeasure and resentment of *high-flyers*, *tories*, and *jacobites*, whom I look upon to be *worse even than profess'd papists*, I do here declare, that those evils which I am going to mention were all brought in upon us in the *worst of times* under the late earl of *Oxford's* administration, during the four last years of queen *Anne's* reign. *That wicked minister was universally known to be a papist in his heart.* * *He was of a most avaritious nature, and is said to have died worth four millions sterl. besides his vast expence in building, statues, plate, jewels, and other costly rarities. He was of a mean obscure birth, from the very dregs of the people; and so illiterate, that he could hardly read a paper at the council table. I forbear to touch on his open, profane, profligate life; because I desire not to rake into the ashes of the dead: and therefore I shall observe this wise maxim; de mortuis nil nisi bonum.*

This flagitious man, in order to compass his black designs, employed certain wicked instruments (which great statesmen are

* The author's meaning is just contrary to the literal sense in the character of lord *Oxford*.

never without) to adapt several *London* cries in such a manner as would best answer his ends. And, whereas it was upon good grounds grievously suspected, that all *places* at court were sold to the highest bidder; certain women were employed by his emissaries to carry *fish* in baskets on their heads, and bawl through the streets, *buy my fresh places*. I must indeed own that other women used the same cry, who were innocent of this wicked design, and really sold fish of that denomination to get an honest livelihood; but the rest, who were in the *secret*, although they carried *fish* in their sieves or baskets to save appearances, yet they had likewise a certain sign, somewhat resembling that of the *free-masons*, which the purchasers of *places* knew well enough, and were directed by the women, whither they were to resort and make their purchase. And, I remember very well how oddly it look'd, when we observed many gentlemen finely drest about the court-end of the town, and as far as *York-buildings*, where the lord-treasurer *Oxford* dwelt, calling the women who cried *buy my fresh places*, and talking to them in the corner of a street, until they understood each other's sign. But we never could observe, that any fish was bought.

Some years before the cries last mentioned, the duke of *Savoy* was reported to have made certain overtures to the court of *England* for admitting his eldest son by the duchess of *Orleans's* daughter to succeed to the crown, as next heir, upon the *pretender's* being rejected; and that son was immediately to turn *protestant*. It was confidently reported, that great numbers of people disaffected to the then *illustrious*, but now *royal*, house of *Hanover* were in those measures. Whereupon another set of women were hired by the *jacobite* leaders to cry through the whole town, *buy my Savoy's, dainty Savoy's, curious Savoy's*. But I cannot directly charge the late earl of *Oxford* with this *conspiracy*, because he was not then chief minister. However, this wicked cry still continues in *London*, and was brought over hither,

where it remains to this day ; and is in my humble opinion a very offensive sound to every true *protestant*, who is old enough to remember those *dangerous* times.

During the ministry of that corrupt and *jacobite* earl above mentioned, the secret pernicious design of those in power was to sell *Flanders* to *France* : the consequence of which must have been the infallible ruin of the *States-general*, and would have opened the way for *France* to obtain that universal monarchy, they have so long aimed at ; to which the *British* dominions must next after *Holland* have been compelled to submit, whereby the *protestant* religion would be rooted out of the world.

A design of this vast importance, after long consultation among the *jacobite* grandees with the earl of *Oxford* at their head, was at last determined to be carried on by the same method with the former : it was therefore again put in practice ; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to chosen men, whose voices were louder and stronger than those of the other sex : and upon this occasion was first instituted in *London* that famous cry of FLOUNDERS. But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word *Flaunders*, and not *flounders*. For the country, which we now by corruption call *Flanders*, is in its true orthography spelt *Flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read old *English* books. I say, from hence begun that thundering cry, which hath ever since stunned the ears of all *London*, made so many children fall into fits, and women miscarry ; *come buy my fresh flaunders, curious flaunders, charming flaunders, alive, alive, ho* ; which last words can with no propriety of speech be applied to fish manifestly dead, (as I observed before in *berrings* and *salmon*) but very justly to ten provinces containing many millions of living *christians*. But the application is still closer, when we consider that all the people were to be taken like *fishes* in a net ; and by assistance of the *pope*, who sets up to be the *universal fisher of men*, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expression, to be *laid as flat as a flounder*. I re-

Remember, myself, a particular crier of *flounders* in *London*, who arrived at so much fame for the loudness of his voice, as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath disturbed me many a morning, before he came within fifty doors of my lodging: and although I were not in those days so fully apprized of the designs, which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet, I know not how, by a secret impulse, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a strong dislike against the fellow; and often said to my self, *This cry seems to be forged in the jesuits school: alas, poor England! I am grievously mistaken, if there be not some popish plot at the bottom.* I communicated my thoughts to an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too visionary in my speculations: but it proved afterwards, that I conjectured right. And I have since reflected, that if the wicked faction could have procured only a thousand men of as strong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the consequences might have been, not only to these two kingdoms, but over all *Europe*, by selling *Flanders* to *France*. And yet these cries continue unpunished both in *London* and *Dublin*; although, I confess, not with equal vehemency or loudness; because the reason for contriving this desperate plot is to our great felicity wholly ceased.

It is well known, that the majority of the *British* house of commons in the last years of queen *Anne's* reign were in their hearts directly opposite to the earl of *Oxford's* pernicious measures; which put him under the necessity of bribing them with salaries. Whereupon he had again recourse to his old politicks. And accordingly his emissaries were very busy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and conversation (as it was proved before justice * *Peyton*) to cry that vegetable commonly called *fellery* through the town. These women differ from the common

* A famous whig justice in those times.

criers of that herb by some private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was notorious enough, and sufficiently talked of; and about the same period was the cry of *sellery* brought over into this kingdom. But since there is not at this present the least occasion to suspect the loyalty of our criers upon that article, I am content that it may still be tolerated.

I shall mention but one cry more, which hath any reference to politicks; but is indeed of all others the most insolent, as well as treasonable, under our present happy establishment, I mean that of *turnups*; not of *turnips*, according to the best orthography, but absolutely *turnups*. Although the cry be of an older date than some of the preceding enormities, for it began soon after the revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at so great a height, as during the earl of *Oxford's* power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as my self to profess their disapprobation of this cry on pretence, that it began by the contrivance of certain old procuresses, who kept houses of ill fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove by some words in the cry; because, after the crier had bawled out, *turnups, bô, buy my dainty turnups*, he would sometimes add the two following verses,

*Turn up the mistress, and turn up the maid,
And turn up the daughter, and be not afraid.*

This, say some political sophists, plainly shews, that there can be nothing farther meant in so infamous a cry, than an invitation to lewdness; which indeed ought to be severely punished in all well-regulated governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of state. But, I hope, we are not so weak and blind to be deluded at this time of day with such poor evasions. I could, if it were proper, demonstrate the very time when those

those two verses were composed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr. *Swan* so well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a *jacobite* as any in *England*. Neither could he deny the fact, when he was taxed for it in my presence by Sir *Henry Dutton-Colt*, and Colonel *Davenport*, at the *Smyrna* coffee-house, on the 10th of *June*, 1701. Thus it appears to a demonstration, that those verses were only a blind to conceal the most dangerous designs of the party; who from the first years after the happy revolution used a cant-way of talking in their clubs, after this manner: *we hope to see the cards shuffled once more, and another king TURN UP trump*; and, *when shall we meet over a dish of TURNUPS*? The same term of art was used in their plots against the government, and in their treasonable letters written in cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr. *Willes*, as you may read in the trials of those times. This I thought fit to set forth at large, and in so clear a light; because the *Scotch* and *French* authors have given a very different account of the word TURNUP; but whether out of ignorance or partiality I shall not decree; because I am sure the reader is convinced by my discovery. It is to be observed, that this cry was sung in a particular manner by fellows in disguise to give notice, where those traitors were to meet in order to concert their villainous designs.

I have no more to add upon this article, than an humble proposal, that those who cry this root at present in our streets of *Dublin* may be compelled by the justices of the peace to pronounce *turnip*, and not *turnup*; for, I am afraid, we have still too many snakes in our bosom, and it would be well if their cellars were sometimes searched, when the owners least expect it; for I am not out of fear, that *latet anguis in herba*.

Thus, we are zealous in matters of small moment, while we neglect those of the highest importance. I have already made it manifest,

manifest, that all these cries were contrived in the *worst of times*, under the ministry of that desperate statesman *Robert* late earl of *Oxford*; and for that very reason ought to be rejected with horror, as begun in the reign of *jacobites*, and may well be numbered among the rags of *popery* and *treason*; or, if it be thought proper that these cries must continue, surely they ought only to be trusted in the hands of *true protestants*, who have given security to the government.

F I N I S.



THE
WORKS

OF

Jonathan Swift, D. D.

Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

VOLUME V. PART I.

LONDON,

Printed for C. DAVIS, J. HODGES, and W. BOWYER.

M DCC LV.

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OF



Jonathan

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VOLUME V PART I

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Printed by G. D. Vail, at the

Print

C O N T E N T S

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THE
PUBLICK SPIRIT

OF THE

WHIGS,

Set forth in their generous Encouragement of the
Author of the CRISIS.

WITH

Some Observations on the Seasonableness, Candour, Erudition,
and Style of that Treatise.

VOL. V.

B

Upon the first publication of this pamphlet, all the Scotch Lords, then in London, went in a body, and complained to Queen ANNE of the affront put on them and their nation by the author of this Treatise. Whereupon a proclamation was published by her Majesty, offering a reward of three hundred pounds to discover him. The reason for offering so small a sum was, that the Queen and Ministry had no desire to have the author taken into custody.

THE PUBLICK SPIRIT OF THE WHIGS*.

I Cannot without some envy, and a just resentment against the opposite conduct of others, reflect upon that generosity and tendernefs, wherewith the heads and principal members of a struggling faction treat those who will undertake to hold a pen in their defence. And the behaviour of these patrons is yet the more laudable, because the benefits they confer are almost *gratis*. If any of their labourers can scratch out a pamphlet, they desire no more; there is no question offered about the wit, the style, the argument. Let a pamphlet come out upon demand in a proper juncture, you shall be well and certainly paid; you shall be paid before-hand; every one of the party who is able to read, and can spare a shilling, shall be a subscriber; several thousands of each production shall be sent among their friends through the kingdom; the work shall be reported admirable, sublime, unanswerable;

*It was written in the year 1712, by the consent if not the encouragement of the ministers of that era, in answer to the crisis by Sir Richard Steele.

ORRERY.

The noble commentator who appears in another instance to have given an account of the works of his author, from a perusal of no more than a title † in the *Dublin* editions, has been betrayed into mistakes, which, if he had read the piece, he would have escaped. This tract,

in the title which his lordship consulted, is said to have been written in the year 1712: but in that part of it which most deserves the notice of a critic, because it occasioned the complaint in the House of Lords, mention is made of a motion to dissolve the union, which did not happen till 1713. The complaint, which is said in the note to happen upon the *first* publication, was made the 2d of *March* 1713-14, and the pamphlet according to the custom of printers, was dated 1714.

† See *Voyage to Broddingnag*, Chap. VI.

shall serve to raise the sinking clamours, and confirm the scandal of introducing popery and the pretender upon the QUEEN and her ministers.

Among the present writers on that side I can recollect but three of any great distinction, which are the *flying post*, Mr. *Dunton*, and the author of the *crisis* *. The first of these seems to have been much sunk in reputation, since the sudden retreat of the *only true genuine original author*, Mr. *Ridpath*, who is celebrated by the *dutch gazetteer* as one of the *best pens* in England. Mr. *Dunton* hath been longer and more conversant in books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his productions: however, having employed his studies in so great a variety of other subjects he hath, I think, but lately turned his genius to politicks. His famous tract, intituled *neck or nothing*, must be allowed to be the shrewdest piece, and written with the most spirit of any, which hath appeared from that side since the change of the ministry: it is indeed a most cutting satire upon the lord treasurer and lord *Bolingbroke*, and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess I was at first of the same opinion with several good judges, who from the style and manner suppose it to have issued from the sharp pen of the earl of *Nottingham*; and I am still apt to think it might receive his lordship's last hand. The third and principal of this triumvirate is the author of the *crisis*; who, although he must yield to the *flying post* in knowledge of the world and skill in politicks, and to Mr. *Dunton* in keenness of satire and variety of reading, hath yet other qualities enough to denominate him a writer of a superior class to either; provided he would a little regard the propriety and disposition of his words, consult the grammatical part, and get some information in the subject he intends to handle.

Omitting the generous countenance and encouragement that

* Mr. *Steel* was expelled the House of Commons for this pamphlet, at the very same time that the House of Lords was moved against the Dean for the Reply.

have

have been shewn to the persons and productions of the two former authors, I shall here only consider the great favour conferred upon the last. It hath been advertised for several months in *the englishman*, † and other papers, that a pamphlet, called *the crisis*, should be published at a proper time in order to open the eyes of the nation. It was proposed to be printed by subscription, price a shilling. This was a little out of form; because subscriptions are usually begged only for books of great price, and such as are not likely to have a general sale. Notice was likewise given of what this pamphlet should contain; only an extract from certain acts of parliament relating to the succession, which at least must sink nine-pence in the shilling, and leave but three-pence for the author's political reflections; so that nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this performance. But, a work was to be done, a hearty writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many thousand copies were bespoke. Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected to have our bundles delivered us, all was stopt; the friends to the cause sprang a new project; and it was advertised that the *crisis* could not appear, till the ladies had shewn their zeal against the *pretender*, as well as the men; against the *pretender* in the bloom of his youth, reported to be handsome, and endued with an understanding exactly of a size to please the sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed list of the fair subscribers prefixed to this pamphlet; by which the *chevalier* might know, he was so far from *pretending* to a monarchy here, that he could not so much as *pretend* to a mistress.

At the destined period, the first news we hear, is of a huge train of dukes, earls, viscounts, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others going to *Sam. Buckley's* the publisher of the *crisis* to fetch home their cargoes, in order to transmit them by dozens, scores, and hundreds into the several counties, and thereby to prepare the wills and understandings of their friends against the ap-

† A paper written by the same author in favour of the preceding administration.

proaching

preaching sessions. Ask any of them, whether they have read it? they will answer no; but they have sent it every where, and it will do a world of good. It is a pamphlet, and a pamphlet they hear against the ministry; talks of slavery, *France*, and the pretender: they desire no more; it will settle the wavering, confirm the doubtful, instruct the ignorant, inflame the clamorous, although it never be once looked into. I am told by those who are expert in the trade, that the author and bookseller of this twelve-penny treatise will be greater gainers, than from one edition of any folio that hath been published these twenty years. What needy writer would not solícite to work under such masters, who will pay us before hand, take off as much of our ware as we please at our own rates, and trouble not themselves to examine either before or after they have bought it, whether it be staple or no?

But, in order to illustrate the implicate munificence of these noble patrons, I cannot take a more effectual method than by examining the production itself; by which we shall easily find that it was never intended, further than from the noise, the bulk, and the title of *crisis*, to do any service to the factious cause. The entire piece consists of a title page, a dedication to the clergy, a preface, an extract from certain acts of parliament, and about ten pages of dry reflections on the proceedings of the QUEEN and her servants; which his coadjutors, the earl of Nottingham, Mr. Duntou, and the *flying post*, had long ago set before us in a much clearer light.

In popish countries, when some impostor cries out, *a miracle! a miracle!* it is not done with a hope or intention of converting hereticks, but confirming the deluded vulgar in their errors; and so the cry goes round without examining into the cheat. Thus the whigs among us give about the cry, *a pamphlet! a pamphlet! the crisis! the crisis!* not with a view of convincing their adversaries, but to raise the spirits of their friends, recall their stragglers, and unite their numbers by sound and impudence; as bees assemble and cling together by the noise of brass. That

That no other effect could be imagined or hoped for by the publication of this timely treatise, will be manifest from some obvious reflections upon the several parts of it; wherein the follies, the falshoods, or the absurdities, appear so frequent, that they may boldly contend for number with the lines.

When the hawker holds this pamphlet towards you, the first words you perceive are, *the crisis*; or, *a discourse*, &c. The interpreter of *Suidas* gives four translations of the word *crisis*; any of which may be as properly applied to this author's letter to the bailiff of *Stockbridge* *. Next, what he calls *a discourse*, consists only of two pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contain extracts from acts of parliament; for as to the twelve last pages, they are provided for by themselves in the title under the name of *some seasonable remarks on the danger of a popish successor*. Another circumstance worthy of our information in the title-page is, that the crown hath been settled by *previous acts*. I never heard of any act of parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unless those two, by which the earl of *Strafford* and Sir *John Fenwick* lost their heads, may pass for exceptions. *A discourse, representing from the most authentick records, etc.* He hath borrowed this expression from some writer, who probably understood the words; but this gentleman hath altogether misapplied them; and under favour, he is wholly mistaken; for a heap of extracts from several acts of parliament cannot be called a discourse; neither do I believe he copied them from the most authentick records, which as I take it are lodged in the *Tower*, but out of some common printed copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, further than to shew the generosity of our adversaries in encouraging a writer, who cannot furnish out so much as a title-page with propriety or common sense.

Next follows the dedication to the clergy of the church of Eng-

* *Steele* addressed a Letter to the bailiff of *Stockbridge*, who appears to have been returning officer for this borough, which *Steele* represented in parliament.

land,

land, wherein the modesty and the meaning of the first paragraphs are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he hath made a *comment upon the acts of settlement*, which he *lays before them*, and *con-jures them to recommend in their writings and discourses to their fellow-subjects*: and he doth all this, *out of a just deference to their great power and influence*. This is the right whig scheme of directing the clergy what to preach. The archbishop of *Canterbury's* jurisdiction extends no farther than over his own province; but the author of the *crisis* constitutes himself vicar general over the whole clergy of the church of *England*. The bishops in their letters or speeches to their own clergy proceed no further than to *exhortation*; but this writer *con-jures* the whole clergy of the church to *recommend his comment upon the laws of the land, in their writings and discourses*. I would fain know, who made him a *commentator upon the laws* of the land: after which it will be time enough to ask him, by what authority he directs the clergy *to recommend his comments* from the pulpit or the press?

He tells the clergy *there are two circumstances which place the minds of the people under their direction*; the first circumstance is their education; the second circumstance is the tenths of our lands. This last, according to the *latin* phrase, is spoken *ad invidiam*; for he knows well enough, they have not a twentieth: but if you take it in his own way, the landlord has nine parts in ten of the people's minds under his direction. Upon this rock the author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow bounds of his literature. He hath a confused remembrance of words since he left the university, but hath lost half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard, except to their cadence; as I remember a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's closet, some sideling, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the pannels.

I am sensible it is of little consequence to their cause, whether
this

this defender of it understands grammar or no; and if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a well wisher to reason or truth, I would be ready to make large allowances. But when with great difficulty I descry a composition of rancour and falsehood, intermixed with plausible nonsense, I feel a struggle between contempt and indignation at seeing the character of a *censor*, a *guardian*, an *englishman*, a *commentator* on the *laws*, an *instructor* of the *clergy*, assumed by a child of obscurity without one single qualification to support them.

This writer, who either affects, or is commanded of late to copy after the bishop of *Sarum*, hath out of the pregnancy of his invention found out an old way of insinuating the grossest reflections under the appearance of admonitions; and is so judicious a follower of the prelate, that he taxes the clergy for *inflaming their people with apprehensions of danger to them and their constitution from men, who are innocent of such designs*; when he must needs confess, the whole design of his pamphlet is to *inflame the people with apprehensions of danger* from the present ministry, whom we believe to be at least as *innocent men* as the last.

What shall I say to a pamphlet, where the malice and falsehood of every line would require an answer, and where the dulness and absurdities will not deserve one?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable respect to the clergy he would insinuate, that those papers among the *tatlers* and *spectators*, where the whole order is abused, were not his own. I will appeal to all who know the flatness of his style, and the barrenness of his invention, whether he doth not grossly prevaricate? was he ever able to walk without leading-strings, or swim without bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking? hath he adhered to his character in his paper called the *englishman*, whereof he is allowed to be sole author without any competition? what does he think of the letter

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signed

signed by himself, which relates to *Molesworth*, * in whose defence he affronts the whole convocation of *Ireland*?

It is a wise maxim, that because the clergy are no civil lawyers, they ought not to preach obedience to governors; and therefore they ought not to preach temperance, because they are no physicians. Examine all this author's writings, and then point me out a divine who knoweth less of the constitution of *England* than he; witness those many egregious blunders in his late papers, where he pretended to dabble in the subject.

But the clergy have, it seems, imbibed their notions of power and obedience, abhorrent from our laws, *from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness and the submission to absolute emperors*. This is gross ignorance, below a school-boy in his *Lucius Florus*. The *roman* history wherein lads are instructed, reacheth little above eight hundred years, and the authors do every where instil republican principles; and from the account of nine in twelve of the first emperors we learn to have a detestation against tyranny. The *greeks* carry this point yet a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who hath read or heard them quoted. This gave *Hobbes* the occasion of advancing a position directly contrary; that the youth of *England* were corrupted in their political principles by reading the histories of *Rome* and *Greece*, which, having been written under republicks, taught the readers to have ill notions of monarchy. In this assertion there was something specious, but that advanced by the *crisis* could only issue from the profoundest ignorance.

But, would you know his scheme of education for young gentlemen at the university? it is, that they should spend their time in perusing those acts of parliament, whereof his pamphlet is an ex-

* The right honourable *Robert Molesworth*, Esq; one of the privy council and member of the House of Commons, created a peer by king *George I.* The lower house of convocation there preferred a complaint against him for disrespectful

words, which being represented in *England*, he was removed from the council: to justify him against this complaint was the subject of *Steele's* Letter.

tract, which *if it had been done, the kingdom would not be in its present condition, but every member sent into the world thus instructed, since the revolution, would have been an advocate for our rights and liberties.*

Here now is a project for getting more money by the *crisis*; to have it read by tutors in the universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our students had been thus employed for twenty years past *the kingdom had not been in its present condition*: but we have too many of such proficient already among the young nobility and gentry, who have gathered up their politicks from chocolate houses, and factious clubs, and who, if they had spent their time in hard study at *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, we might indeed have said, that the factious part of this kingdom *had not been in its present condition*, or have suffered themselves to be taught, that a few acts of parliament relating to the succession are preferable to all other *civil institutions* whatsoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an act of parliament relating to one particular point could be called a civil institution.

He spends almost a quarto page in telling the clergy, that they will be certainly perjured if they bring in the *pretender*, whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them, that they have sworn without equivocation or mental reservation; otherwise the clergy might think, that as soon as they received the *pretender*, and turned *papists*, they would be free from their oath.

This honest, civil, ingenious gentleman knows in his conscience, that there are not ten clergymen in *England* (except non-jurors) who do not abhor the thoughts of the *pretender* reigning over us, much more than himself. But this is the spittle of the bishop of *Sarum* *, which our author licks up, and swallows, and then coughs out again with an addition of his own phlegm. I would fain suppose the body of the clergy were to return an answer by

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

one of their members to these worthy counsellors. I conceive it might be in the following terms :

My lord and gentleman,

“ The clergy command me to give you thanks for your advice;
 “ and if they knew any crimes, from which either of you were as
 “ free, as they are from those which you so earnestly exhort them
 “ to avoid, they would return your favour as near as possible in
 “ the same style and manner. However, that your advice may
 “ not be wholly lost, particularly that part of it which relates to
 “ the *pretender*, they desire you would apply it to more proper
 “ persons. Look among your own leaders; examine which of
 “ them engaged in a plot to restore the late king *James*, and
 “ received pardons under his seal; examine which of them have
 “ been since tampering with his pretended son, and, to gratify
 “ their ambition, their avarice, their malice and revenge, are now
 “ willing to restore him at the expence of the religion and liberty
 “ of their country. Retire, good my lord, with your pupil, and
 “ let us hear no more of these hypocritical insinuations, lest the
 “ QUEEN and ministers, who have been hitherto content with
 “ only *disappointing* the lurking villanies of your faction, may
 “ be at last provoked to *expose* them.

But his respect for the clergy is such, that he doth not insinuate as if they really had these evil dispositions; he only *insinuates*, that they give *too much cause* for such *insinuations*.

I will, upon occasion, strip some of his *insinuations* from their generality and solecisms, and drag them into the light. His dedication to the clergy is full of them, because here he endeavours to mold up his rancour and civility together; by which constraint he is obliged to shorten his paragraphs, and to place them in such a light, that they obscure one another. Supposing therefore, that I have scraped off his good manners in order to come at his meaning, which lies under; he tells the clergy, that the favour of the

QUEEN

QUEEN and her ministers is but a *colour of zeal towards them*; that the people were deluded by a groundless cry of the church's danger at *Sacheverel's* trial; that the clergy, as they are *men of sense and honour*, ought to preach this truth to their several congregations; and let them know, that the true design of the present men in power in that, and all their proceedings since in favour of the church, was to bring in *popery, France and the pretender*, and to enslave all *Europe*, contrary to the *laws of our country, the power of the legislature, the faith of nations, and the honour of God*.

I cannot see why the clergy, as *men of sense and men of honour* (for he appeals not to them as men of *religion*) should not be allowed to know when they are in danger, and be able to guess whence it comes, and who are their protectors. The design of their destruction indeed may have been projected in the dark; but when all was ripe, their enemies proceeded to so many overt-acts in the face of the nation, that it was obvious to the meanest people, who wanted no other motives to rouse them. On the other side, can this author, or the wisest of his faction, assign one single act of the present ministry any way tending towards bringing in the *pretender*, or to weaken the succession of the house of *Hanover*? Observe then the reasonableness of this gentleman's advice: the clergy, the gentry, and the common people had the utmost apprehensions of danger to the church under the late ministry; yet then it was the greatest impiety to *inflame the people with any such apprehensions*. His danger of a *popish* successor from any steps of the present ministry is an artificial calumny, raised and spread against the conviction of the inventors pretended to be believed only by those, who abhor the constitution in church and state; an obdurate faction, who compass heaven and earth to restore themselves upon the ruin of their country; yet here our author *exhorts the clergy* to preach up this imaginary danger to their people, and disturb the publick peace with his strained seditious comments.

But

But how comes this gracious licence to the clergy from the *whigs* to concern themselves with politicks of any sort, although it be only the glosses and comments of Mr. *Steele*? The speeches of the managers at *Sacheverel's* trial, particularly those of *Stanhope*, *Lechmere*, *King*, *Parker*, * and some others, seemed to deliver a different doctrine. Nay, this very dedication complains of *some in holy orders, who have made the constitution of their country* (in which and the *coptick* Mr. *Steele* is equally skilled) *a very little part of their study, and yet made obedience and government the frequent subjects of their discourses*. This difficulty is easily solved; for by *politicks* they mean *obedience*. Mr. *Hoadly* †, who is a champion for resistance, was never charged with meddling out of his function: *Hugh Peters*, and his brethren, in the times of usurpation had full liberty to preach up sedition and rebellion; and so here Mr. *Steele* issues out his licence to the clergy to preach up the *danger of a popish pretender* in defiance of the QUEEN and her administration.

Every whiffler in a laced coat, who frequents the chocolate-house, and is able to spell the title of a pamphlet, shall talk of the constitution with as much plausibility as this very solemn writer, and with as good a grace blame the clergy for meddling with politicks, which they do not understand. I have known many of these able politicians furnished before they were of age with all the necessary topicks of their faction, and by the help of about twenty polysyllables capable of maintaining an argument, that would shine in the *crisis*; whose author gathered up his little stock from the same schools, and hath written from no other fund.

But after all, it is not clear to me, whether this gentleman addresseth himself to the clergy of *England* in general, or only to those very few (hardly enough, in case of a change, to supply the

* These persons were created peers by king George I. *Bangor* by king George I. in 1715, translated to *Hereford* in 1721, to *Salisbury* in 1723, and to

† Doctor Benjamin Hoadly created bishop of *Winchester* in 1734.

mortality of those *self-denying prelates* he celebrates) who are in his principles, and among these only such as live in and about *London*; which probably will reduce the number to about half a dozen at most. I should incline to guess the latter; because he tells them they are *surrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing gentry, who know with what firmness, self-denial, and charity the bishops adhered to the publick cause, and what contumelies those clergymen have undergone, etc. who adhered to the cause of truth.* By those terms, *the publick cause, and the cause of truth*, he understands the *cause* of the whigs, in opposition to the QUEEN and her servants: therefore by the *learned, wealthy, and knowing gentry* he must understand the *bank and east-india company*, and those other merchants or citizens within the bills of mortality, who have been strenuous against the church and crown, and whose spirit of faction hath lately got the better of their interest. For let him search all the rest of the kingdom, he will find the *surrounded* clergy, and the *surrounding* gentry wholly strangers to the merits of those prelates; and adhering to a very different *cause of truth*, as will soon, I hope, be manifest by a fair appeal to the representatives of both.

It was very unnecessary in this writer to bespeak the treatment of *contempt and derision*, which the clergy are to expect from his faction, whenever they come into power. I believe that venerable body is in very little concern after what manner their most mortal enemies intend to *treat* them, whenever it shall please God for our sins to visit us with so fatal an event; which I hope it will be the united endeavours both of clergy and laity to hinder. It would be some support to this hope, if I could have any opinion of his predicting talent (which some have ascribed to people of this author's character) where he tells us, that *noise and wrath will not always pass for zeal.* What other instances of zeal hath this gentleman or the rest of his party been able to produce? if clamour be *noise*, it is but opening our ears to know from what side it comes;

comes; and, if sedition, scurrility, slander and calumny be the fruit of *wrath*, read the pamphlets and papers issuing from the *zealots* of that faction, or visit their clubs and coffee-houses, in order to form a judgment of the tree.

When Mr. Steele tells us, *we have religion that wants no support from the enlargement of secular power, but is well supported by the wisdom and piety of its preachers, and its own native truth*; it would be good to know what religion he professeth: for the clergy to whom he speaks will never allow him a member of the church of *England*. They cannot agree, that the *truth* of the gospel, and the *piety* and *wisdom* of its preachers, are a sufficient support in an evil age against infidelity, faction, and vice without the assistance of *secular power*; unless God would please to confer the gift of miracles on those who wait at the altar. I believe they venture to go a little further, and think, that upon some occasions they want a little *enlargement of assistance from the secular power* against *atheists, deists, socinians*, and other hereticks. Every first *Sunday* in *Lent* a part of the liturgy is read to the people, in the preface to which the church declares her wishes for the restoring of that discipline she formerly had, and which for some years past hath been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, lest it might *insinuate jealousies between the clergy and laity*; which, the author tells us, is the *policy of vain ambitious men among the former, in hopes to derive from their order a veneration they cannot deserve from their virtue*. If this be their method for procuring veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on; and the clergy would then indeed have no more to do with politicks of any sort, than Mr. Steele or his faction will allow them.

Having thus toiled through his dedication, I proceed to consider his preface, which, half consisting of quotation, will be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair thing in any writer to employ his *ignorance* and *malice* together; because it gives his answerer double work: it is like the sort of sophistry that the
logicians

logicians call *two mediums*, which are never allowed in the same syllogism. A writer with a weak head, and a corrupt heart, is an over-match for any single pen; like a hireling jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every turn to kick.

He begins his preface with such an account of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any writer upon government, from *Plato* to *Mr. Locke*. Give me leave to transcribe his first paragraph. *I never saw an unruly crowd of people cool by degrees into temper, but it gave me an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions. One particular man has usually in those cases, from the dignity of his appearance, or other qualities known or imagined by the multitude, been received into sudden favour and authority; the occasion of their difference has been represented to him, and the matter referred to his decision.*

I have known a poet, who never was out of *England*, introduce a fact by way of simile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the plains of *Libya*; and begin with, *so have I seen* *. Such a fiction I suppose may be justified by poetical licence; yet *Virgil* is much more modest. This paragraph of *Mr. Steele's*, which he sets down as an observation of his own, is a miserable mangled translation of six verses out of that famous poet, who speaks after this manner: *as when a sedition arises in a great multitude, etc. then if they see a wise grave man, etc.* *Virgil*, who lived but a little after the ruin of the *roman* republick, where seditions often happened, and the force of oratory was great among the people, made use of a simile, which *Mr. Steele* turns into a fact after such a manner, as if he had seen it an hundred times; and builds upon it a system of the origin of government. When the vulgar here in *England* assemble in a riotous manner (which is not very frequent of late years) the prince takes a much more effectual way than that of sending orators to appease them: but *Mr. Steele*

* See the *Περὶ Βασιλέως*, p. 80.

imagines such a crowd of people as this, where there is no government at all; their *unruliness* quelled, and their passions *cooled* by a particular man, whose great qualities they had known before. Such an assembly must have risen suddenly from the earth, and the *man of authority* dropt from the clouds; for without some previous form of government no such crowd did ever yet assemble, or could possibly be acquainted with the merits and dignity of any *particular man* among them. But to pursue his scheme; this man of authority, who *cools* the *crowd* by degrees, and to whom they all appeal, must of necessity prove either an open or *clandestine tyrant*. A *clandestine tyrant* I take to be a king of Brentford, who keeps his army in disguise; and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knockt on the head, or deposed, the people *calmly take further measures and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited power*. All this our author tells us, with extreme propriety, is *what seems reasonable to common sense*; that is, in other words, it seems *reasonable to reason*. This is what he calls *giving an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions*. To which I answer with great phlegm, that I defy any man alive to shew me in double the number of lines, although writ by the same author, such a complicated ignorance in history, human nature, or politicks, as well as in the ordinary proprieties of thought or of style.

But it seems these profound speculations were only premised to introduce some quotations in favour of *resistance*. What hath *resistance* to do with the succession of the house of Hanover, that the whig writers should perpetually affect to tag them together? I can conceive nothing else, but that their hatred to the QUEEN and ministry puts them upon thoughts of introducing the successor by *another* revolution. Are cases of *extreme necessity* to be produced as common maxims, by which we are always to proceed? Should not these gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general rule of obedience, and not always the exception of resistance? since the
former

former hath been the perpetual dictate of all laws both divine and civil, and the latter is still in dispute.

I shall meddle with none of the passages he cites to prove the lawfulness of resisting princes, except that from the present lord chancellor's * speech in defence of Dr. Sacheverel: that *there are extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, which are implied, although not expressed, in the general rule* [of obedience.] These words, very clear in themselves, Mr. Steele explains into nonsense; which in any other author I should suspect to have been intended as a reflection upon as great a person as ever filled or adorned that high station: but I am so well acquainted with his pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true quotation than a false comment. To see him treat my lord *Harcourt* with so much civility looks indeed a little suspicious, and as if he had malice in his heart. He calls his lordship *a very great man, and a great living authority*; places himself in company with general *Stanhope* and Mr. *Hoadley*; and, in short, takes the most effectual method in his power of ruining his lordship in the opinion of every man, who is wise or good. I can only tell my lord *Harcourt* for his comfort, that these praises are encumbered with the doctrine of *resistance*, and the true revolution-principles; and provided he will not allow Mr. *Steele* for his commentator, he may hope to recover the honour of being libelled again, as well as his sovereign and fellow-servants.

We now come to the *crisis*; where we meet with two pages by way of introduction to those extracts from acts of parliament, that constitute the body of his pamphlet. This introduction begins with a definition of liberty, and then proceeds in a panegyrick upon that great blessing. His panegyrick is made up of half a dozen shreds, like a school-boy's theme, beaten general topicks, where

* Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who at the time of *Sacheverel's* trial had resigned his place of attorney general, which he afterwards accepted again; upon the change of the ministry he was made lord keeper, and in 1711 created a baron.

any other man alive might wander securely; but this politician, by venturing to vary the good old phrases, and give them a new turn, commits an hundred solecisms and absurdities. The weighty truths, which he endeavours to press upon his reader, are such as these. That *liberty is a very good thing*; that *without liberty we cannot be free*; that *health is good, and strength is good, but liberty is better than either*; that *no man can be happy without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind tells him is best*; that *men of quality love liberty, and common people love liberty*; even women and children love liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr. Steele contented himself to deliver these and the like maxims in such intelligible terms, I could have found where we agreed and where we differed. But let us hear some of these axioms, as he hath involved them. *We cannot possess our souls with pleasure and satisfaction, except we preserve in ourselves that inestimable blessing, which we call liberty. By liberty I desire to be understood to mean the happiness of men's living, etc.*—The true life of man consists in conducting it according to his own just sentiments and innocent inclinations—man's being is degraded below that of a free agent, when his affections and passions are no longer governed by the dictates of his own mind. —Without liberty our health (among other things) may be at the will of a tyrant employed to our own ruin and that of our fellow-creatures. If there be any of these maxims which is not grossly defective in truth, in sense, or in grammar, I will allow them to pass for uncontrollable. By the first, omitting the pedantry of the whole expression, there are not above one or two nations in the world, where any one man can possess his soul with pleasure and satisfaction. In the second, he desires to be understood to mean; that is he desires to be meant to mean, or to be understood to understand. In the third, the life of man consists in conducting his life. In the fourth he affirms, that mens beings are degraded, when their passions are no longer governed by the dictates of their own minds;

minds; directly contrary to the lessons of all moralists and legislators; who agree unanimously, that the passions of men must be under the government of reason and law; neither are laws of any other use than to correct the irregularity of our affections. By the last, *our health is ruinous to ourselves and other men when a tyrant pleases*; which I leave to him to make out.

I cannot sufficiently commend our ancestors for transmitting to us the blessing of liberty; yet having *laid out their blood and treasure upon the purchase*, I do not see how they *acted parsimoniously*; because I can conceive nothing more generous than that of employing our blood and treasure for the service of others. But I am suddenly struck with the thought, that I have found his meaning; our ancestors acted parsimoniously, because they only spent their own treasure for the good of their posterity; whereas we squandered away the treasures of our posterity too; but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done for the preservation of their liberty, must be left to themselves for a decision.

I verily believe, although I could not prove it in *Westminster hall* before a *lord chief justice*, that by *enemies to our constitution*, and *enemies to our present establishment*, Mr. Steele would desire to be understood to mean my lord treasurer and the rest of the ministry: *by those who are grown supine in proportion to the danger, to which our liberty is every day more exposed*, I should guess he means the tories: and by *honest men, who ought to look up with a spirit that becomes honesty*, he understands the whigs. I likewise believe, he would take it ill, or think me stupid, if I did not thus expound him. I say then, that according to this exposition, the four great officers of state, together with the rest of the cabinet-council (except the archbishop of *Canterbury* *) are *enemies to our establishment, making artful and open attacks upon our constitution*, and are now *practising indirect arts, and mean subtilties to weaken the security of those acts of parliament* for settling the succession

* Dr. Tennison.

in the house of *Hanover*. The first and most notorious of these criminals is *Robert Harley* earl of *Oxford*, lord high treasurer, who is reputed to be chief minister: the second is *James Butler* duke of *Ormonde*, who commands the army, and designs to employ it in bringing over the *pretender*: the third is *Henry St. John* lord viscount *Bolingbroke*, secretary of state, who must be supposed to hold a constant correspondence at the court of *Bar le Duc*, as the late earl of *Godolphin* did with that at *St. Germain*: and to avoid tediousness, Mr. *Bromley* * and the rest are employed in their several districts to the same end. These are the opinions which Mr. *Steele* and his faction, under the direction of their leaders, are endeavouring with all their might to propagate among the people of *England* concerning the present ministry; with what reservation to the honour, wisdom, or justice of the *QUEEN*, I cannot determine; who by her own free choice, after long experience of their abilities and integrity, and in compliance to the general wishes of her people, called them to her service. Such an accusation against persons in so high trust should require, I think, at least one single overt-act to make it good. If there be no other choice of persons fit to serve the crown without danger from the *pretender*, except among those who are called the whig party, the *Hanover* succession is then indeed in a very desperate state: that illustrious family will have almost nine in ten of the kingdom against it, and those principally of the landed interest; which is most to be depended upon in such a nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his extracts, which I shall not be at the pains of comparing with the originals, but suppose he hath gotten them fairly transcribed: I only think, that whoever is patentee for printing acts of parliament may have a very fair action against him for invasion of property: but this is none of my business to enquire into.

After two and twenty pages spent in reciting acts of parlia-

* Speaker of the House of Commons.

ment,

ment, *he desires leave to repeat the history and progress of the union;* upon which I have some few things to observe.

This work, he tells us, *was unsuccessfully attempted by several of her majesty's predecessors;* although I * do not remember it was ever thought on by any except king *James* the first, and the late king *William*. I have read indeed, that some small overtures were made by the former of these princes towards an union between the two kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt by the *english*: and the historian tells us, that how degenerate and corrupt soever the court and parliament then were, they would not give ear to so infamous a proposal. I do not find, that any of the succeeding princes before the revolution ever resumed the design; because it was a project for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity: for I defy any mortal to name one single advantage that *England* could ever expect from such an union.

But towards the end of the late king's reign, upon apprehensions of the want of issue from him or the princess *Anne*, a proposition for uniting both kingdoms was begun; because *Scotland* had not settled their crown upon the house of *Hanover*, but left themselves at large in hopes to make their advantage; and it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor fierce northern people, at liberty to put themselves under a different king. However, the opposition to this work was so great, that it could not be overcome until some time after her present majesty came to the crown; when by the weakness or corruption of a certain minister, since dead, an act of parliament was obtained for the *Scots*, which gave them leave to arm themselves †; and so the union became necessary, not for any actual good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil; and at the same time save an obnoxious minister's head;

* The author's memory failed him a little in this assertion, as one of his answerers observed.

† See the Examiner, N^o XIX. at the end.

who

who was so wise as to take the first opportunity of procuring a general pardon by act of parliament, because he could not with so much decency and safety desire a particular one for himself. These facts are well enough known to the whole kingdom. And I remember, discoursing above six years ago with the most considerable * person of the adverse party, and a great promoter of the union, he frankly owned to me, that this necessity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the earl of *Godolphin*, was the only cause of the union.

Therefore I am ready to grant two points to the author of the *crisis*: *first*, that the union became necessary for the cause above related; because it prevented this island from being governed by two kings; which *England* would never have suffered; and it might probably have cost us a war of a year or two to reduce the *Scots*. *Secondly*, that it would be dangerous to break this union, at least in this juncture, while there is a *pretender* abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the spirit of faction last summer among some people, who having been the great promoters of the *union*, and several of them the principal gainers by it †, could yet proceed so far as to propose in the house of lords, that it should be dissolved; while at the same time those peers, who had ever opposed it in the beginning, were then for preserving it, upon the reason I have just assigned, and which the author of the *crisis* hath likewise taken notice of.

But when he tells us, *the englishmen ought, in generosity, to be more particularly careful in preserving this union*, he argues like himself. *The late kingdom of Scotland* (saith he) *had as numerous*

* Lord Somers.

† The duke of *Argyle*, who zealously promoted the union, the earl of *Mar*, Mr. *Lockhart*, and Mr. *Cockburn*, having been deputed on purpose, remonstrated to the queen against the malt tax, which they said would probably prompt the *Scots*

to declare the union dissolved. The earl of *Finlater* soon after moved the house of lords for leave to bring in a bill for dissolving the union, he was seconded by the earl of *Mar*, and supported by lord *Eglington*, earl of *Hay*, the duke of *Argyle*, and others.

a nobility as England, etc. They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and necessary evils of the union upon the foot it now stands. Their nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the dignity of their titles; and what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct until the last period of all things; because the greatest part of them descend to heirs general. I imagine a person of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing she was as good as her husband, because she brought him as numerous a family of relations and servants as she found in his house. *Scotland*, in the taxes, is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty pence laid upon *England*; and the representatives they send to parliament are about a thirteenth. Every other *scotch* peer hath all the privileges of an *english* one, except that of sitting in parliament, and even precedence before all of the same title that shall be created for the time to come. The pensions and employments possessed by the natives of that country now among us do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home; and all the money they raise upon the publick is hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. I could point out some with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the union, although their whole revenues before that period would have ill maintained a *welsh* justice of the peace; and have since gathered more money than ever any *scotchman*, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.

I have only one thing more to say upon occasion of the union act; which is, that the author of the *Crisis* may be fairly proved from his own citations to be guilty of HIGH TREASON. In a paper of his called the *englishman* of *October 29* there is an advertisement about taking in subscriptions for printing the *crisis*, where the title is published at length with the following clause, which the author thought fit to drop in the publication; [and that no
E power

power on earth can bar, alter, or make void the present settlement of the crown, etc. By Richard Steele.] In his extract of an act of parliament made since the union, it appears to be *high treason* for any person by writing or printing to maintain and affirm, that the kings or queens of this realm, with and by the authority of parliament, are not able to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance, and government thereof. This act being subsequent to the settlement of the crown confirmed at the union, it is probable some friend of the author advised him to leave out those *treasonable* words in the printed title-page, which he had before published in the *advertisement*; and accordingly we find, that in the treatise itself he only offers it to every good subject's consideration, whether this article of the settlement of the crown is not as firm as the union itself, and as the settlement of episcopacy in England, etc. And he thinks the scots understood it so, that the succession to the crown was never to be controverted.

These I take to be only treasonable insinuations; but the advertisement before mentioned is actually *high treason*; for which the author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail any thing under a jurisdiction, where cursing the QUEEN is not above the penalty of twenty marks.

Nothing is more notorious than that the *whigs* of late years, both in their writings and discourses, have affected upon all occasions to allow the legitimacy of the *pretender*. This makes me a little wonder to see our author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular chat of those times, and other solid arguments from *Fuller's* narrative: but it must be supposed, that this gentleman acts by the commands of his superiors, who have thought fit at this juncture to issue out new orders, for reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their directions to him upon that weighty point, whether the settlement of the succession in the house of *Hanover* be alterable or no. I have

have observed where, in his former pages, he gives it in the negative; but in the turning of a leaf, he hath wholly changed his mind. He tells us, *he wonders there can be found any Briton weak enough to contend against a power in their own nation, which is practised in a much greater degree in other states: and how hard it is, that Britain should be debarred the privilege of establishing its own security by relinquishing only those branches of the royal line, which threaten it with destruction; whilst other nations never scruple upon less occasions to go much greater lengths; of which he produceth instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds, can Great Britain help to advance men to other thrones, and have no power in limiting its own?* How can a senator, capable of doing honour to Sir Thomas Hanmer, be guilty of such ridiculous inconsistencies? The author of the *conduct of the allies* (says he) *hath dared to drop insinuations about altering the succession.* The author of the *conduct of the allies* writes sense and english; neither of which the author of the *crisis* understands. The former thinks it *wrong in point of policy to call in a foreign power to be guarantee of our succession, because it puts it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession without the consent of that prince or state, who is guarantee, whatever necessity may happen in future times.* Now, if it be high treason to affirm by writing, that the legislature hath no such power; and if Mr. Steele thinks it strange, that Britain should be debarred this privilege, what could be the crime of putting such a case, that in future ages a necessity might happen of limiting the succession, as well as it hath happened already?

When Mr. Steele reflects upon the many solemn, strong barriers (to our succession) of laws and oaths, etc. he thinks all fear vanishest before them. I think so too, provided the epithet *solemn* goes for nothing; because, although I have often heard of a *solemn* day, a *solemn* feast, and a *solemn* coxcomb, yet I can conceive no idea to myself of a *solemn* barrier. However, be that as it will, his

thoughts it seems will not let him rest, but, before he is aware he asks himself several questions; and since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavour to give him what satisfaction I am able. The first is, *what are the marks of a lasting security?* To which I answer, that the signs of it in a kingdom or state are, first good laws; and secondly, those laws well executed: we are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter.—Secondly, *what are our tempers and our hearts at home?* If by *ours* he means those of himself and his abettors, they are most damnable wicked; impatient for the death of the QUEEN; ready to gratify their ambition and revenge by all desperate methods; wholly alienate from truth, law, religion, mercy, conscience, or honour.—Thirdly, *in what hands is power lodged abroad?* To answer the question naturally, *Louis XIV.* is king of *France*, *Philip V.* (by the counsels and acknowledgments of the whigs) is king of *Spain*, and so on. If by power he means money; the duke of *Marlborough* is thought to have more ready money than all the kings of *christendom* together; but by the peculiar disposition of providence it is locked up in a trunk, to which his ambition hath no key; and that is our security.—Fourthly, *are our unnatural divisions our strength?* I think not; but they are the sign of it, for being *unnatural* they cannot last; and this shews, that *union* the foundation of all strength is more agreeable to our nature.—Fifthly, *is it nothing to us, which of the princes of Europe has the longest sword?* Not much, if we can tie up his hands, or put a strong *shield* into those of his neighbours; or if our *sword* be as *sharp* as his is *long*; or if it be necessary for him to turn his own *sword* into a *plowshare*; or if such a *sword* happeneth to be in the hands of an *infant*, or struggled for by two competitors.—Sixthly, *the powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us, may it not in time reach a king out to us too?* If the *powerful hand* he means be that of *France*, it may reach out as many kings as it pleaseth; but we will not accept them. Whence
does

does this man get his intelligence? I should think, even his brother *Ridpath* might furnish him with better. What *crowns* or *kingdoms* hath *France* dealt about? *Spain* was given by the will of the former king, in consequence of that infamous treaty of *partition*, the adviser of which will, I hope, never be forgot in *England*. *Sicily* was disposed of by her majesty of *Great Britain*; so in effect was *Sardinia*. *France* indeed once *reached out* a king to *Poland*, but the people would not receive him. This question of Mr. *Steele's* was therefore only put *in terrorem* without any regard to truth.—Seventhly, *are there no pretensions to our crown that can ever be revived?* There may, for ought I know, be about a dozen; and those in time may possibly beget a hundred; but we must do as well as we can. Captain *Bessus*, when he had fifty challenges to answer, protested he could not fight above three duels a day. *If the pretender should fail* (says the writer) *the French king has in his quiver a succession of them; the duchess of Savoy, or her sons, or the dauphin her grandson.* Let me suppose the *chevalier de St. George* to be dead; the duchess of *Savoy* will then be a *pretender*, and consequently must leave her husband, because his royal highness (for Mr. *Steele* has not yet acknowledged him for a king) is in alliance with her *british* majesty; her sons, when they grow *pretenders*, must undergo the same fate. But I am at a loss how to dispose of the *dauphin*, if he happen to be king of *France* before the *pretendership* to *Britain* falls to his share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove out of his own kingdom, only because it is too near *England*.

But the duke of *Savoy* did some years ago put in his claim to the crown of *England* in right of his wife; and he is a prince of great capacity, in strict alliance with *France*, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a *popish* successor. Is it the fault of the present, or of any ministry, that this prince put in his claim? must we give him opium to destroy his capacity? or can we prevent his alliance with any prince, who is in peace with her majesty? Must

Must we send to stab or poison all the *popish* princes, who have any pretended title to our crown by the proximity of blood? What, in the name of God, can these people drive at? what is it they demand? Suppose the present *dauphin* were now a man, and king of *France*, and next *popish* heir to the crown of *England*; is he not excluded by the laws of the land? But what regard will he have to our laws? I answer; hath not the QUEEN as good a title to the crown of *France*? and how is she excluded, but by their law against the succession of females, which we are not bound to acknowledge? And is it not in our power to exclude female successors, as well as in theirs? If such a pretence shall prove the cause of a war, what human power can prevent it? But our cause must necessarily be good and righteous; for either the kings of *England* have been unjustly kept out of the possession of *France*, or the *dauphin*, although nearest of kin, can have no legal title to *England*. And he must be an ill prince indeed, who will not have the hearts and hands of ninety nine in an hundred among his subjects against such a *popish* pretender.

I have been the longer in answering the seventh question, because it led me to consider all he had afterwards to say upon the subject of the *pretender*.—Eighthly, and lastly, he asks himself, *whether popery and ambition are become tame and quiet neighbours?* In this I can give him no satisfaction, because I never was in that street where they live; nor do I converse with any of their friends; only I find they are persons of a very evil reputation. But I am told for certain, that *ambition* hath removed her lodging, and lives the very next door to *faction*, where they keep such a racket, that the whole parish is disturbed, and every night in an uproar.

Thus much in answer to those eight *uneasy questions* put by the author to himself in order to *satisfy every* Briton, and give him an occasion of *taking an impartial view of the affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular*.

After enumerating the great actions of the *confederate* armies
under

under the command of prince *Eugene* and the duke of *Marlborough*, Mr. *Steele* observes, in the bitterness of his soul, that the british general, however unaccountable it may be to posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his glorious labour. Ten years fruits, it seems, were not sufficient, and yet they were the fruit-fullest campaigns that ever any general cropt. However, I cannot but hope, that posterity will not be left in the dark, but some care taken both of her majesty's glory, and the reputation of those she employs. An impartial historian may tell the world (and the next age will easily believe what it continues to feel) that the avarice and ambition of a few factious insolent subjects had almost destroyed their country by continuing a ruinous war in conjunction with allies, for whose sakes principally we fought, who refused to bear their just proportion of the charge, and were connived at in their refusal, for private ends: that these factious people treated the best and kindest of sovereigns with insolence, cruelty, and ingratitude (of which he will be able to produce several instances) that they encouraged persons and principles alien from our religion and government in order to strengthen their faction: he will tell the reasons, why the general and first minister were seduced to be heads of this faction, contrary to the opinions they had always professed. Such an historian will shew many reasons, which made it necessary to remove the general and his friends, who, knowing the bent of the nation was against them, expected to lose their power when the war was at an end. Particularly, the historian will discover the whole intrigue of the duke of *Marlborough's* endeavouring to procure a commission to be general for life*; wherein justice will be done to a person at that time of high station in the law, who (I mention it to his honour) advised the duke, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a commission. By these and many other instances, which time will bring to light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to

* See the Examiner N° 19, and the subsequent papers.

posterity,

posterity, why this great man was dismissed at last; but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

But this is entering into a wide field. I shall therefore leave *posterity* to the information of better historians than the author of the *crisis*, or myself; and go on to inform the present age in some facts, which this great orator and politician thinks fit to misrepresent with the utmost degree either of natural or wilful ignorance. He asserts, that in the duke of *Ormonde's* campaign, *after a suspension of arms between Great Britain and France proclaimed at the head of the armies, the british troops in the midst of the enemy's garrisons withdrew themselves from their confederates.* The fact is directly otherwise; for the *british* troops were most infamously deserted by the confederates, after all that could be urged by the duke of *Ormonde* and the earl of *Strafford* to press the confederate generals not to forsake them. The duke was directed to avoid engaging in any action, until he had further orders, because an account of the king of *Spain's* renunciation was every day expected: this the *Imperialists* and *Dutch* knew well enough; and therefore proposed to the duke in that very juncture to engage the *French*, for no other reason but to render desperate all the *QUEEN's* measures towards a peace. Was not the certain possession of *Dunkirk* of equal advantage to the uncertainty of a battle? A whole campaign under the duke of *Marlbrough* with such an acquisition, although at the cost of many thousand lives, and several millions of money, would have been thought very gloriously ended.

Neither, after all, was it a new thing either in the *british* general or the *dutch* deputies to refuse fighting, when they did not approve it. When the duke of *Marlbrough* was going to invest *Bouchain*, the deputies of the *states* pressed him in vain to engage the enemy; and one of them was so far discontented upon his grace's refusal, that he presently became a partizan of the peace; yet I do not remember any clamour then raised here against the duke upon that account. Again, when the *French* invaded *Doway*
after

after the confederates had deserted the duke of *Ormonde*, prince *Eugene* was violently bent upon a battle, and said, they should never have another so good an opportunity; but monsieur——, a private deputy rose up, and opposed it so far, that the prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal in the duke of *Ormonde* to refuse fighting by express command of the QUEEN, and in order to get possession of *Dunkirk*, than for the duke of *Marlborough* to give the same refusal without any such orders, or any such advantage? or shall a *dutch* deputy assume more power than the QUEEN of *Great Britain's* general, acting by the immediate commands of his sovereign?

The *emperor and the empire* (says Mr. *Steele* by way of admiration) *continue the war!* is his *imperial* majesty able to continue it or no? if he be, then *Great Britain* hath been strangely used for ten years past: then how came it to pass, that of above thirty thousand men in his service in *Italy* at the time of the battle of *Turin*, there were not above four thousand paid by himself? if he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The reasons are clear; because the war only affects the princes of the empire (whom he is willing enough to expose) but not his own dominions. Besides, the *imperial* ministers are in daily expectation of the QUEEN's death, which they hope will give a new turn to affairs, and rekindle the war in *Europe* upon the old foot; and we know how the ministers of that court publickly assign it for a reason of their obstinacy against peace, that they hope for a sudden revolution in *England*. In the mean time this appearance of the *emperor's* being forsaken by his ally will serve to increase the clamour, both here and in *Holland*, against her majesty and those she employs.

Mr. *Steele* says, *there can be no crime in affirming (if it be truth) that the house of Bourbon is at this juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for an universal monarchy and to engross the whole trade of Europe, than it did before the war.*

No crime in affirming it, if it be truth. I will for once allow
F his

his proposition. But if it be false, then I affirm, that whoever advanceth so seditious a falshood deserves to be hanged. Doth he mean by the house of *Bourbon*, the two kings of *France* and *Spain*? If so, I reject his meaning, which would insinuate, that the interests and designs of both those princes will be the same; whereas they are more opposite than those of any two other monarchs in *christendom*. This is the old foolish slander so frequently flung upon the peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious undertakers of the press write with great advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand falshoods without fear, wit, conscience, or knowledge; and we, who answer them, must be at the expence of an argument for each; after which, in the very next pamphlet we see the same assertions produced again, without the least notice of what hath been said to disprove them. By the house of *Bourbon* doth he mean only the *french* king for the time being? If so, and his assertion be true, then that prince must either deal with the devil, or else the money and blood spent in our ten years victories against him might as well have continued in the purses and veins of her majesty's subjects.

But the *particular* assertions of this author are easier detected than his *general* ones; I shall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For instance: I desire him to ask the *Dutch*, who can best inform him, *why they delivered up Traerbach to the Imperialists*? for, as to the QUEEN, her majesty was never once consulted in it; whatever his preceptors, the politicians of *Button's* coffee-house, may have informed him to the contrary.

Mr. *Steele* affirms, that *the French have begun the demolition of Dunkirk contemptuously and arbitrarily their own way*. The governor of the town, and those gentlemen intrusted with the inspection of this work, do assure me, that the fact is altogether otherwise; that the method prescribed by those whom her majesty employs, hath been exactly followed, and that the works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him further, that the demolition

tion was so long deferred in order to remove those difficulties, which the *barrier* treaty hath put us under; and the event hath shewn, that it was prudent to proceed no faster, until those difficulties were got over. The *mole* and *harbour* could not be destroyed, until the ships were got out; which, by reason of some profound secrets of state, did not happen until the other day. Who gave him those just suspicions, that the *mole* and *harbour* will never be destroyed? what is it he would now insinuate? that the ministry is bribed to leave the most important part of the work undone; or that the *pretender* is to invade us from thence; or that the QUEEN hath entered into a conspiracy with her servants to prevent the good effects of the peace for no other end, but to lose the affections of her people, and endanger herself?

Instead of any further information, which I could easily give, but which no honest man can want, I venture to affirm, that the *mole* and *harbour* of *Dunkirk* will in a short time be most effectually destroyed; and at the same time I venture to prophesy, that neither Mr. *Steele*, nor his faction will ever confess they believe it.

After all, it is a little hard, that the QUEEN cannot be allowed to demolish this town in whatever manner she pleases to fancy. Mr. *Steele* must have it done his own way, and is angry the *French* have pretended to do it theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the bargain. For my own part, I do seriously think the most *christian* king to be a much better friend of her majesty's than Mr. *Steele*, or any of his faction. Besides, it is to be considered, that he is a monarch and a relation; and therefore if I were a privy counsellor, and my advice to be asked, which of those two * GENTLEMEN BORN should have the direction in the demolition of *Dunkirk*, I would give it for the former; because I look upon Mr. *Steele*, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more skilful in *demolishing at home* than *abroad*.

There is a prospect of more danger to the balance of *Europe*,

* Mr. *Steele* often stiles himself so.

and to the trade of *Britain* from the *emperor* over-running *Italy*, than from *France* over-running the *empire*; that his *imperial* majesty entertains such thoughts is visible to the world: and although little can be said to justify many actions of the *french* king, yet the worst of them have never equalled the emperor's arbitrary keeping the possession of *Milan* directly contrary to his oath and to the express words of the *golden bull*, which oblige him to deliver up every *fief* that falls; or else they must all in the course of time lapse into his own hands.

I was at a loss, who it was that Mr. *Steele* hinted at some time ago by *the powerful hand, that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us*: I now plainly find he meant no other hand but his own. He hath dealt out the crown of *Spain* to *France*; to *France* he hath given leave to invade the *empire* next spring with two hundred thousand men; and now at last he deals to *France* the *imperial* dignity; and so farewell liberty; Europe will be french. But in order to bring all this about *the capital of Austria, the residence of his imperial majesty*, must continue to be visited by the plague, of which the emperor must die, and so the thing is done.

Why should not I venture to deal out one sceptre in my turn, as well as Mr. *Steele*? I therefore deal out the *empire* to the elector of *Saxony*, upon failure of issue to this emperor at his death; provided the whigs will prevail on the son to turn papist to get an empire, as they did upon the father to get a kingdom. Or if this prince be not approved of, I deal it out in his stead to the elector of *Bavaria*: and in one or the other of these I dare engage to have all christendom to second me, whatever the spleen, in the shape of politicks, may dictate to the author of the crisis.

The design of Mr. *Steele* in representing the circumstances of the affairs of Europe is to signify to the world, that all Europe is put in the high road to slavery by the corruption of her majesty's present ministers; and so he goes on to *Portugal*; which, having
during

during the war supplied us with gold in exchange for our woollen manufacture, hath only at present a suspension of arms for its protection, to last no longer than till the Catalonians are reduced; and then the old pretensions of Spain to Portugal will be revived: and Portugal, when once enslaved by Spain falls naturally with the rest of Europe into the gulph of France. In the mean time let us see, what relief a little truth can give this unhappy kingdom. That Portugal hath yet no more than a suspension of arms they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the treaty; and that they came so late, they may thank the whigs, whose false representations they were so weak to believe. However, the QUEEN hath voluntarily given them a guarantee to defend them against Spain, until the peace shall be made; and such terms after the peace are stipulated for them, as the Portuguese themselves are contented with.

Having mentioned the *Catalonians*, he puts the question, *who can name the Catalonians without a tear?* That can I; for he hath told so many melancholy stories without one syllable of truth, that he hath blunted the edge of my fears, and I shall not be startled at the worst he can say. What he affirms concerning the *Catalonians* is included in the following particulars; first, *that they were drawn into the war by the encouragement of the maritime powers; by which are understood England and Holland:* but he is too good a friend of the *Dutch* to give them any part of the blame. Secondly, *that they are now abandoned and exposed to the resentment of an enraged prince.* Thirdly, *that they always opposed the person and interest of that prince, who is their present king.* Lastly, *that the doom is dreadful of those, who shall in the sight of God be esteemed their destroyers.* And if we interpret the insinuation he makes, according to his own mind, the destruction of those people must be imputed to the present ministry.

I am sometimes, in charity, disposed to hope, that this writer is not always sensible of the flagrant falsehoods he utters, but is either
byassed

byassed by an inclination to believe the worst, or a want of judgment to chuse his informers. That the *Catalonians* were *drawn into the war by the encouragement of her majesty*, should not in decency have been affirmed until about fifty years hence; when it might be supposed there would be no living witness left to disprove it. It was only upon the assurances of a revolt given by the prince of *Hesse* and others, and their invitation, that the QUEEN was prevailed with to send her forces upon that expedition. When *Barcelona* was taken by a most unexpected accident of a bomb lighting on the magazine, then indeed the *Catalonians* revolted, having before submitted and sworn allegiance to *Philip*, as much as any other province of *Spain*. Upon the peace between that crown and *Britain*, the QUEEN, in order to ease the *emperor*, and save his troops, stipulated with king *Philip* for a neutrality in *Italy*, and that his *imperial* majesty should have liberty to evacuate *Catalonia*; upon condition of absolute indemnity to the *Catalans*, with an entire restitution to their honours, dignities, and estates. As this neutrality was never observed by the *emperor*, so he never effectually evacuated *Catalonia*; for although he sent away the main body, he left behind many officers and private men, who now spirit up and assist those obstinate people to continue in their rebellion. It is true indeed that king *Philip* did not absolutely *restore* the *Catalans* to *all* their old privileges, of which they never made other use than as an encouragement to rebel; but admitted them to the same privileges with his subjects of *Castile*, particularly to the liberty of trading, and having employments in the *West-Indies*, which they *never enjoyed before*. Besides, the QUEEN reserved to herself the power of procuring farther immunities for them, wherein the most *christian* king was obliged to second her: for his *catholic* majesty intended no more than to retrench those privileges, under the pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of *France*. *How dreadful then must be the doom of those*, who hindered these people from submitting to the gentle terms

terms offered them by their prince! and who, although they be conscious of their own inability to furnish one single ship for the support of the *Catalans*, are at this instant spurring them on to their ruin by promises of aid and protection!

Thus much in answer to Mr. *Steele's* account of the affairs of *Europe*; from which he deduceth the universal monarchy of *France*, and the danger of I know not how many *popish successors* to *Britain*. His political reflections are as good as his facts. *We must observe*, says he, *that the person who seems to be the most favoured by the french king in the late treaties, is the duke of Savoy*. Extremely right; for whatever that prince got by the peace, he owes entirely to her majesty, as a just reward for his having been so firm and useful an ally; neither was *France* brought with more difficulty to yield any one point than that of allowing the duke such a barrier as the QUEEN insisted on.

He is become the most powerful prince in Italy. I had rather see him so than the emperor. *He is supposed to have entered into a secret and strict alliance with the house of Bourbon*. This is one of those facts wherein I am most inclined to believe the author, because it is what he must needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore may possibly be true.

I thought indeed we should be safe from all *popish successors* as far as *Italy*, because of the prodigious clutter about sending the *pretender* thither. But they will never agree where to fix their *longitude*. The duke of *Savoy* is the more dangerous for removing to *Sicily*: he adds to our fears for being too near. So whether *France* conquer Germany, or be in peace and good understanding with it, either event will put us and Holland at the mercy of France, which hath a quiver full of *pretenders* at its back, whenever the *chevalier* shall die.

This was just the logick of poor prince *Butler*, a splenetick mad man, whom every body may remember about the town. Prince *Pamphilio* in *Italy* employed emissaries to torment prince *Butler* here..

here. But what if prince *Pamphilio* die? Why then he had left in his will, that his heirs and executors torment *prince Butler* for ever.

I cannot think it a misfortune what Mr. *Steele* affirms, that *treasonable books lately dispersed among us, striking apparently at the Hanover succession, have passed almost without observation from the generality of the people*; because it seems a certain sign, that *the generality of the people* are well disposed to that illustrious family: but I look upon it as a great evil, to see seditious books *dispersed among us, apparently striking at the QUEEN* and her administration, at the constitution in church and state, and at all religion; yet *passing without observation from the generality of those in power*: but whether this remissness may be imputed to *Whitehall*, or *Westminster-hall*, is other mens business to enquire. Mr. *Steele* knows in his conscience, that the *Queries concerning the pretender* issued from one of his own party. And as for the poor nonjuring-clergyman, who was trusted with committing to the press a late book *on the subject of hereditary right*, by a strain of the *summum jus* he is now, as I am told, with half a score children, starving and rotting among thieves and pick pockets in the common room of a stinking jail*. I have never seen either the book or the publisher; however, I would fain ask *one single person* † in the world a question; why he hath so often drank the abdicated king's health upon his knees?—But the transition is natural and frequent, and I shall not trouble him for an answer.

It is the hardest case in the world, that Mr. *Steele* should take up the artificial reports of his own faction, and then put them off upon the world as *additional fears of a popish successor*. I can assure him, that no good subject of the QUEEN is under the least concern, whether the *pretender* be converted or no, farther than their wishes that all men would embrace the true religion. But,

* Upon his conviction he was committed to the *Marshalsea*, and at his sentence, to the *Queen's-Bench* for three years.

† *Parker*, afterward lord chancellor.

reporting

reporting backwards and forwards upon this point helps to keep up the noise, and is a topick for Mr. *Steele* to enlarge himself upon, by shewing how little we can depend on such conversions, by collecting a list of *popish* cruelties, and repeating after himself and the bishop of *Sarum* the dismal effects likely to follow upon the return of that superstition among us.

But as this writer is reported by those who know him to be what the *French* call *journalier*, his fear and courage operating according to the weather in our uncertain climate; I am apt to believe the two last pages of his *crisis* were written on a *sun-shine day*. This I guess from the general tenor of them, and particularly from an unwary assertion, which, if he believes as firmly as I do, will at once overthrow all his foreign and domestick fears of a *popish* successor. *As divided a people as we are, those who stand for the house of Hanover are INFINITELY superior in number, wealth, courage, and all arts military and civil, to those in the contrary interest; besides which we have the laws, I say, the laws on our side. The laws, I say, the laws.* This elegant repetition is, I think, a little out of place; for the stress might better have been laid upon so great a majority of the nation; without which I doubt the laws would be of little weight, although they be very good additional securities. And if what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, although he assert it (for I allow even the majority of his own party to be against the *pretender*) there can be no danger of a *popish* successor, except from the unreasonable jealousies of the *best* among that party, and from the malice, the avarice, or ambition of the *worst*; without which *Britain* would be able to defend her succession against all her enemies both at home and abroad. Most of the dangers from abroad, which he enumerates as the consequences of this very bad peace made by the *QUEEN*, and approved by parliament, must have subsisted under any peace at all; unless, among other projects equally feasible, we could have stipulated to cut the throats of every *popish* relation to the royal family.

G

Well,

Well, by this author's own confession a number infinitely superior, and the best circumstantiated imaginable, are for the *succession* in the house of *Hanover*. This *succession* is established, confirmed, and secured by several laws; her majesty's repeated declarations, and the oaths of all her subjects, engage both her and them to preserve what those laws have settled. This is a security indeed, a *security* adequate at least to the importance of the thing; and yet, according to the whig-scheme, as delivered to us by Mr. *Steele* and his coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the succession will be defeated, the *pretender* brought in, and *popery* established among us, without the farther assistance of this writer and his faction.

And what securities have our adversaries substituted in the place of these? A club of politicians, where *Jenny Man* presides; A *crisis* written by Mr. *Steele*; a confederacy of knavish stock jobbers to ruin credit; a report of the QUEEN's death; an *effigies* of the *pretender* run twice through the body by a valiant peer; a speech by the author of the *crisis*; and, to sum up all, an unlimited freedom of reviling her majesty and those she employs.

I have now finished the most disgusting task that ever I undertook. I could with more ease have written *three* dull pamphlets, than remarked upon the falsehoods and absurdities of *one*. But I was quite confounded last *Wednesday*, when the printer came with another pamphlet in his hand written by the same author, and entitled, *the englishman, being the close of the paper so called*, etc. He desired I would read it over, and consider it in a paper by itself; which last I absolutely refused. Upon perusal I found it chiefly an invective against *Toby*, the ministry, the *examiner*, the clergy, the QUEEN, and the *post-boy*; yet at the same time with great justice exclaiming against those, who presumed to offer the least word against the heads of that faction whom her majesty discarded. The author likewise proposeth an *equal division of favour and employments* between the *whigs* and *tories*; for if the former

former can have no part or portion * in David, they desire no longer to be his subjects. He insists, that her majesty hath exactly followed Monsieur Tughe's memorial † against demolishing of Dunkirk. He reflects with great satisfaction on the good already done to his country by the crisis. *Non nobis, domine, non nobis, etc.*—He gives us hopes that he will leave off writing, and consult his own quiet and happiness; and concludes with a letter to a friend at court. I suppose by the style of old friend, and the like, it must be some body there of his own level; among whom his party have indeed more friends than I could wish. In this letter he asserts, that the present ministers were not educated in the church of England, but are new converts from presbytery. Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the malice of that man must be, who invents a groundless lie in order to defame his superiors, which would be no disgrace if it had been a truth. And he concludes with making three demands, for the satisfaction of himself, and other malecontents. First, the demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk. Secondly, that Great-Britain and France would heartily join against the exorbitant power of the duke of Lorraine, and force the pretender from his asylum at Bar le Duc. Lastly, that his electoral highness of Hanover would be so grateful to signify to all the world the perfect good understanding he hath with the court of England, in as plain terms as her majesty was pleased to declare she had with that house on her part.

As to the first of these demands I will venture to undertake it shall be granted; but then Mr. Steele and his brother malecontents must promise to believe the thing is done, after those employed have made their report; or else bring vouchers to disprove it. Upon the second; I cannot tell whether her majesty will engage in a war against the duke of Lorraine to force him to remove the

* What portion have we in David?

† "Tughe was deputed by the magistrates of Dunkirk to intercede with the Queen, that she would recall part of her sentence concerning

"Dunkirk, by causing her thunderbolts to fall only on the martial works, and to spare the moles and dykes, which in their naked condition could be no more than objects of pity."

44 THE PUBLICK SPIRIT OF THE WHIGS.

pretender; but I believe if the parliament should think it necessary to address upon such an occasion, the QUEEN will move that prince to send him away. His last demand, offered under the title of a *wish*, is of so insolent and seditious a strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly chargeth her majesty with delivering a falsehood to her parliament from the throne; and declares he will not believe her, untill the elector of *Hanover* himself shall vouch for the truth of what she hath so solemnly affirmed.

I agree with this writer, that it is an idle thing in his antagonists to trouble themselves upon the *articles of his birth, education, or fortune*; for whoever writes at this rate of his sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal obligations, I should never enquire whether he be a GENTLEMAN BORN, but whether he be a HUMAN CREATURE.

THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
ALLIES,

And of the
LATE MINISTRY,
In beginning and carrying on the present war.

Written in the Year 1712.

*Partem tibi Gallia nostri
Eripuit : Partem duris Hispania bellis :
Pars jacet Hesperia, totoque exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit.*

*Odimus accipitrem quia semper vivit in armis.
Victrix Provincia plorat.*

THE
CONDUCT
OF
THE

To this Tract and the Examiners, which make Vol. V. of the *irish* edition, there is a preface in the name of the publisher, which lord Orrery ascribes to *Swift* for no other apparent reason, than to accuse him of praising himself; but besides the incorrectness of the style which his lordship supposes to be affected, there is an assertion that these papers *produced* the change in the queen's ministry, which even in his lordship's opinion they were written to *defend*, and to which they appear by their date as well as tenor to be *subsequent*; an absurdity of which *Swift*, even in the character of a publisher, cannot be supposed to have been guilty.

Written in the Year 1712.

Printed by G. Gifford, at the

Printers, in the Strand.

For the Proprietors, J. H. and J. H.

The Proprietors.

Of the Proprietors, J. H. and J. H.

Printed by G. Gifford, at the

P R E F A C E.

I Cannot sufficiently admire the industry of a sort of men, wholly out of favour with the prince and people, and openly professing a separate interest from the bulk of the landed men, who yet are able to raise at this juncture so great a clamour against a peace, without offering one single reason, but what we find in their *ballads*. I lay it down for a maxim, that no reasonable man, whether *whig* or *tory*, (since it is necessary to use those foolish terms) can be of opinion for continuing the war upon the foot it now is, unless he be a gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new turn of affairs at home to the advantage of his party; or, lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the kingdom's condition, and by what means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first cases, where interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: but as to the last, I think it highly necessary that the publick should be freely and impartially told what circumstances they are in, after what manner they have been treated by those, whom they trusted so many years with the disposal of their blood and treasure, and what the consequences of this management are like to be upon themselves and their posterity.

Those who either by writing or discourse have undertaken to defend the proceedings of the late ministry in the management of the war, and of the treaty at *Gertruydenburgh*, have spent time in celebrating the conduct and valour of our leaders and their troops, in summing up the victories they have gained, and the towns they have taken. Then they tell us, what high articles were insisted on by our ministers and those of the confederates, and what pains both were at in persuading *France* to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least satisfaction to the just complaints of the kingdom. As to the war our grievances are, that a greater load has been laid on us than was either just or necessary, or than we have

have been able to bear; that the grossest impositions have been submitted to for the advancement of private wealth and power, or in order to forward the more dangerous designs of a *faction*, to both which a peace would have put an end; and that the part of the war which was chiefly our province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a peace, we complain of being deluded by a *mock-treaty*; in which those who negotiated took care to make such demands as they knew were impossible to be complied with; and therefore might securely press every article as if they were in earnest.

These are some of the points I design to treat of in the following discourse; with several others which I thought it necessary at this time for the kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those facts I mention; at least not in any circumstance so material as to weaken the consequences I draw from them.

After ten years wars with perpetual success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good peace is very surprizing, and seems so different from what hath ever happened in the world before, that a man of any party may be allowed suspecting, that we have been either ill used, or have not made the most of our victories, and might therefore desire to know where the difficulty lay. Then it is natural to enquire into our present condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this rate; what the consequences may be upon the present and future ages; and whether a peace without that impracticable point, which some people do so much insist on, be really ruinous in itself, or equally so with the continuance of the war.

THE CONDUCT
OF THE
ALLIES, *etc.* *

THE motives that may engage a wise prince or state in war, I take to be one or more of these: either to check the overgrown power of some ambitious neighbour; to recover what hath been unjustly taken from them; to revenge some injury they have received (which all political casuists allow;) to assist some ally in a just quarrel; or lastly, to defend themselves when they are invaded. In all these cases the writers upon politicks admit a war to be justly undertaken. The last is what hath been usually called *pro aris et focis*; where no expence or endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and consequently our utmost force to be exerted; and the dispute is soon determined either in safety or utter destruction. But in the other four I believe it will be found, that no monarch or commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain degree; never proceeding so far as to exhaust the strength and substance of their country by anticipations and loans, which in a few years must put them in a worse condition, than any they could reasonably apprehend from those evils, for the preventing of which they first entered into the war; because this would be to run into real infallible ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear so by a probable speculation.

* This was written preparatory to the peace which the ministers were then concerting, and which was afterwards perfected at *Utrecht*.

ORRERY.

This tract, and remarks on the barrier treaty,

contain the principal facts which the author of *John Bull* has thrown into allegory; and greatly illustrates that piece, of which indeed it is possible they were the ground work.

And as a war should be undertaken upon a just and prudent motive, so it is still more obvious, that a prince ought maturely to consider the condition he is in, when he enters on it; whether his coffers be full, his revenues clear of debts, his people numerous and rich by a long peace and free trade, not over-pressed with many burthensome taxes; no violent faction ready to dispute his just prerogative, and thereby weaken his authority at home, and lessen his reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the world's quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preserving the latter with honour and safety.

Supposing the war to have commenced upon a just motive; the next thing to be considered is, when a prince ought in prudence to receive the overtures of a peace; which I take to be, either when the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for; or when that point is found impossible to be ever obtained; or when contending any longer, although with probability of gaining that point at last, would put such a prince and his people in a worse condition than the present loss of it. All which considerations are of much greater force, where a war is managed by an alliance of many confederates, which in the variety of interests among the several parties is liable to so many unforeseen accidents.

In a confederate war it ought to be considered, which party has the deepest share in the quarrel: for although each may have their particular reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear the greatest part of the burthen in proportion to their strength. For example: two princes may be competitors for a kingdom, and it will be your interest to take the part of him, who will probably allow you good conditions of trade, rather than of the other, who possibly may not. However, that prince whose cause you espouse, although never so vigorously, is the principal in that war, and you properly

properly speaking are but a second. Or a commonwealth may lie in danger to be over-run by a powerful neighbour, which in time may produce very bad consequences upon your trade and liberty: it is therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them assistance, and help them to win a strong secure frontier; but as they must in course be the first and greatest sufferers; so in justice they ought to bear the greatest weight. If a house be on fire, it behoves all in the neighbourhood to run with buckets to quench it; but the owner is sure to be undone first; and it is not impossible, that those at next door may escape by a shower from heaven, or the stillness of the weather, or some other favourable accident.

But if an ally, who is not so immediately concerned in the good or ill fortune of the war, be so generous as to contribute more than the principal party, and even more in proportion to his abilities, he ought at least to have his share in what is conquered from the enemy; or, if his romantick disposition transport him so far as to expect little or nothing from this, he might however hope, that the principals would make it up in dignity and respect; and he would surely think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his domestick affairs, prescribing what servants he should keep or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable demands, and at every turn threatening to break the alliance if he will not comply.

From these reflections upon war in general, I descend to consider those wars wherein *England* hath been engaged since the conquest. In the civil wars of the *Barons*, as well as those between the houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, great destruction was made of the nobility and gentry; new families raised and old ones extinguished; but the money spent on both sides was employed and circulated at home; no publick debts contracted; and a very few years of peace quickly set all right again.

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural rebellion against king *Charles I.* The usurpers maintained great armies in

constant pay, had almost continual war with *Spain* or *Holland*; but managing it by their fleets, they increased very much the riches of the kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

Our foreign wars were generally against *Scotland* or *France*; the first being in this island carried no money out of the kingdom, and were seldom of long continuance. During our first wars with *France* we possessed great dominions in that country, where we preserved some footing till the reign of queen *Mary*; and although some of our later princes made very chargeable expeditions thither, a subsidy and two or three fifteenths cleared all the debt. Besides, our victories were then of some use as well as glory; for we were so prudent to fight, and so happy to conquer, only for ourselves.

The *Dutch* wars in the reign of king *Charles II.* although begun and carried on under a very corrupt administration, and much to the dishonour of the crown, did indeed keep the king needy and poor by discontinuing or discontenting his parliament, when he most needed their assistance; but neither left any debt upon the nation, nor carried any money out of it.

At the *revolution* a general war broke out in *Europe*, wherein many princes joined in alliance against *France* to check the ambitious designs of that monarch; and here the *Emperor*, the *Dutch*, and *England* were principals. About this time the custom first began among us of borrowing millions upon funds of interest. It was pretended, that the war could not possibly last above one or two campaigns; and that the debts contracted might be easily paid in a few years by a gentle tax, without burthening the subject. But the true reason for embracing this expedient was the security of a new prince not firmly settled on the throne. People were tempted to lend by great premiums and large interest; and it concerned them nearly to preserve that government, which they had trusted with their money. The person * said to have been

* Doctor *Burnet* bishop of *Sarum*.

author of so detestable a project, lived to see some of its fatal consequences, whereof his grandchildren will not see an end. And this pernicious counsel closed very well with the posture of affairs at that time: for a set of upstarts, who had little or no part in the *revolution*, but valued themselves upon their noise and pretended zeal when the work was over, were got into credit at court by the merit of becoming undertakers and projectors of loans and funds: these finding, that the gentlemen of estates were not willing to come into their measures, fell upon those new schemes of raising money, in order to create a moneyed interest that might in time vie with the landed, and of which they hoped to be at the head.

The ground of the first war for ten years after the *revolution*, as to the part we had in it, was to make *France* acknowledge the late king and to recover *Hudson's Bay*. But during that whole war the sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest part of *six* millions annually employed to enlarge the frontier of the *Dutch*. For the king was a general, but not an admiral; and although king of *England*, was a native of *Holland*.

After ten years fighting to little purpose, after the loss of above a hundred thousand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions, we at length hearkened to the terms of peace, which was concluded with great advantages to the *Empire* and *Holland*, but none at all to us; and clogged soon after with the famous treaty of *partition*, by which *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Lorrain* were to be added to the *French* dominions; or if that crown should think fit to set aside the treaty upon the *Spaniards* refusing to accept it, as they declared they would to the several parties at the very time of transacting it, then the *French* would have pretensions to the whole monarchy. And so it proved in the event; for the late king of *Spain*, reckoning it an indignity to have his territories cantoned out into parcels by other princes during his own life and without his consent, rather chose to bequeath the monarchy entire to a younger

younger son of *France*; and this prince was acknowledged for king of *Spain* both by us and *Holland*.

It must be granted, that the counsels of entring into this war were violently opposed by the *church-party*, who first advised the late king to acknowledge the duke of *Anjou*; and particularly it is affirmed, that a certain * *great person*, who was then in the church interest, told the king in *November 1701*, that since his majesty was determined to engage in a war so contrary to his private opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his employment; although he happened afterwards to change his mind, when he was to be at the head of the treasury, and have the sole management of affairs at home, while those abroad were to be in the hands of † *one*, whose advantage by all sorts of ties he was engaged to promote.

The declarations of war against *France* and *Spain* made by us and *Holland* are dated within a few days of each other. In that published by the *states* they say very truly, that *they are nearest and most exposed to the fire*; that *they are blocked up on all sides, and actually attacked by the kings of France and Spain*; that *their declaration is the effect of an urging and pressing necessity*; with other expressions to the same purpose. They desire the assistance of all kings and princes, etc. The grounds of their quarrel with *France* are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other prince or state; such as, *the French refusing to grant the tariff promised by the treaty of Ryfwick*; *the loading the Dutch inhabitants settled in France with excessive duties, contrary to the said treaty*; *the violation of the partition treaty by the French accepting the king of Spain's will, and threatening the states if they would not comply*; *the seizing the Spanish Netherlands by the French troops, and turning out the Dutch, who by permission of the late king of Spain were in garrison there, by which means that republick was deprived of her barrier contrary to the treaty of partition, where*

* Earl of Godolphin.

† Duke of Marlborough.

*it was particularly stipulated, that the spanish Netherlands should be left to the archduke. They alledged, that the french king governed Flanders as his own, although under the name of his grandson, and sent great numbers of troops thither to fright them**; that he had seized the city and citadel of Liege; had possessed himself of several places in the archbishoprick of Cologne, and maintained troops in the county of Wolfenbuttel, in order to block up the Dutch on all sides; and caused his resident to give in a memorial, wherein he threatned the states to act against them if they refused complying with the contents of that memorial.

The QUEEN'S declaration of war is grounded upon the *grand alliance*, as this was upon the unjust usurpations and encroachments of the french king; whereof the instances produced are, his keeping in possession a great part of the spanish dominions, seizing Milan and the spanish Low-countries, making himself master of Cadiz, etc. And instead of giving satisfaction in these points, his putting an indignity and affront on her majesty and kingdoms by declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England, etc. Which last was the only personal quarrel we had in the war; and even this was positively denied by France, that king being willing to acknowledge her majesty.

I think it plainly appears by both declarations, that *England* ought no more to have been a principal in this war than *Prussia*, or any other power, who came afterwards into that alliance. *Holland* was first in danger, the french troops being at that time just at the gates of *Nimeguen*. But the complaints made in our declaration do all, except the last, as much or more concern almost every prince in *Europe*.

For among the several parties who came first or last into this confederacy, there were few but who in proportion had more to get or to lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill success of this war than we. The *Dutch* took up arms to defend themselves

* This the author of *John Bull* calls frightening the children out of their bread and butter.

from

from immediate ruin; and by a successful war, they proposed to have a larger extent of country, and a better frontier against *France*. The *emperor* hoped to recover the monarchy of *Spain* or some part of it for his younger son, chiefly at the expence of us and *Holland*. The king of *Portugal* had received intelligence, that *Philip* designed to renew the old pretensions of *Spain* upon that kingdom, which is surrounded by the other on all sides, except towards the sea; and could therefore only be defended by maritime powers. This, with the advantageous terms offered by king *Charles* as well as by us, prevailed with that prince to enter into the alliance. The duke of *Savoy*'s temptations and fears were yet greater: the main charge of the war on that side was to be supplied by *England*, and the profit to redound to him. In case *Milan* should be conquered, it was stipulated, that his highness should have the duchy of *Montferrat* belonging to the duke of *Mantua*, the provinces of *Alexandria* and *Valencia* and *Lomellino*, with other lands between the *Po* and the *Tanaro*, together with the *Vigevenasco*, or in lieu of it an equivalent out of the province of *Novara*, adjoining to his own state; besides whatever else could be taken from *France* on that side by the confederate forces. Then he was in terrible apprehensions of being surrounded by *France*, who had so many troops in the *Milanese*, and might have easily swallowed up his whole duchy.

The rest of the allies came in purely for subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable sums into their own coffers, and refused to send their *contingent* to the *emperor*, alledging their troops were already hired by *England* and *Holland*.

Some time after the duke of *Anjou*'s succeeding to the monarchy of *Spain*, in breach of the *partition* treaty, the question here in *England* was, whether the peace should be continued, or a new war begun. Those who were for the former alledged the debts and difficulties we laboured under; that both we and the *Dutch* had already acknowledged *Philip* for king of *Spain*; that the inclinations

tions of the *Spaniards* to the house of *Austria*, and their aversion from that of *Bourbon*, were not so surely to be reckoned upon as some would pretend; that we thought it a piece of insolence as well as injustice in the *French* to offer putting a king upon us, and the *Spaniards* would conceive we had as little reason to force one upon them: that it was true, the nature and genius of those two people differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a king of *French* blood as one of *Austrian*; but that if we should engage in a war for dethroning the duke of *Anjou*, we should certainly effect what by the progress and operations of it we endeavoured to prevent, I mean an union of interest and affections between the two nations; for the *Spaniards* must of necessity call in *French* troops to their assistance; this would introduce *French* counsellors into king *Philip's* court, and this by degrees would habituate and reconcile the two nations: that to assist king *Charles* by *English* and *Dutch* forces would render him odious to his new subjects, who have nothing in so great abomination as those whom they hold for *hereticks*; that the *French* would by this means become masters of the treasures in the *Spanish West Indies*; that in the last war, when *Spain*, *Cologne*, and *Bavaria* were in our alliance, and by a modest computation brought sixty thousand men into the field against the common enemy; when *Flanders*, the seat of war, was on our side, and his majesty, a prince of great valour and conduct, at the head of the whole confederate army; yet we had no reason to boast of our success; how then should we be able to oppose *France* with those powers against us, which would carry sixty thousand men from us to the enemy; and so make us upon the balance weaker by one hundred and twenty thousand men at the beginning of this war, than of that in 1688?

On the other side those, whose opinion or some private motives inclined them to give their advice for entering into a new war, alleged how dangerous it would be for *England* that *Philip* should

be king of *Spain*; that we could have no security for our trade while that kingdom was subject to a prince of the *Bourbon* family, nor any hopes of preserving the balance of *Europe*, because the grandfather would in effect be king, while his grandson had but the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever of pursuing his design for universal monarchy. These and the like arguments prevailed; and so without offering at any other remedy, without taking time to consider the consequences, or to reflect on our own condition, we hastily engaged in a war, which hath cost us sixty millions; and after repeated as well as unexpected success in arms, hath put us and our posterity in a worse condition, not only than any of our allies, but even our conquered enemies themselves.

The part we have acted in the conduct of this whole war, with reference to our allies abroad and to a prevailing faction at home, is what I shall now particularly examine; where, I presume, it will appear by plain matters of fact, that no nation was ever so long or so scandalously abused by the folly, the temerity, the corruption, and the ambition of its domestick enemies; or treated with so much insolence, injustice, and ingratitude by its foreign friends.

This will be manifest by proving the three following points:

First, that against all manner of prudence or common reason we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

Secondly, that we spent all our vigour in pursuing that part of the war, which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning it; and made no efforts at all, where we could have most weakened the common enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves.

Lastly, that we suffered each of our allies to break every article in those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burthen upon us.

Upon

Upon the first of these points, that we ought to have entered into this war only as auxiliaries, let any man reflect upon our condition at that time: just come out of the most tedious, expensive, and unsuccessful war that ever *England* had been engaged in*; sinking under heavy debts of a nature and degree never heard of by us or our ancestors; the bulk of the gentry and people heartily tired of the war and glad of a peace, although it brought no other advantage but itself; no sudden prospect of lessening our taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our debts as to raise armies; a sort of artificial wealth of funds and stocks in the hands of those, who for ten years before had been plundering the publick; many corruptions in every branch of our government that needed reformation. Under these difficulties, from which twenty years peace and the wisest management could hardly recover us, we declare war against *France* fortified by the accession and alliance of those powers I mentioned before, and which in the former war had been parties in our confederacy. It is very obvious, what a change must be made in the balance by such weights taken out of our scale and put into theirs; since it was manifest by ten years experience, that *France* without those additions of strength was able to maintain itself against us. So that human probability ran with mighty odds on the other side; and in this case nothing under the most extreme necessity should force any state to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged *Philip* for king of *Spain*; neither does the *QUEEN*'s declaration of war take notice of the duke of *Anjou*'s succession to that monarchy as a subject of quarrel, but the *french* king's governing it as if it were his own; his seizing *Cadix*, *Milan*, and the *spanish* Low-countries, with the indignity of proclaiming the *pretender*. In all which we charge that prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the last: and this, although indeed a great affront, might easily have been redressed without a war; for the *french* court declared

* I was then lean being just come out of a fit of sickness. *John Bull*, page 98.

they did not acknowledge the *pretender*, but only gave him the title of king, which was allowed to *Augustus* by his enemy of *Sweden*, who had driven him out of *Poland*, and forced him to acknowledge *Stanislaus*.

It is true indeed, the danger of the *Dutch* by so ill a neighbourhood in *Flanders* might affect us very much in the consequences of it; and the loss of *Spain* to the house of *Austria*, if it should be governed by *french* influence and *french* politicks, might in time be very pernicious to our trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our neighbour; and so we might have done without injuring ourselves; for by an old treaty with *Holland* we were bound to assist that republick with ten thousand men, whenever they were attacked by the *French*; whose troops upon the king of *Spain's* death taking possession of *Flanders* in right of *Philip*, and securing the *dutch* garrisons till they would acknowledge him, the *States-general* by memorials from their envoy here demanded only the ten thousand men we were obliged to give them by virtue of that treaty. And I make no doubt, but the *Dutch* would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able with that assistance alone to defend their frontiers; or if they had been forced to a peace, the *Spaniards*, who abhor dismembring their monarchy, would never have suffered the *French* to possess themselves of *Flanders*. At that time they had none of those endearments to each other, which this war hath created; and whatever hatred and jealousy were natural between the two nations would then have appeared. So that there was no sort of necessity for us to proceed further, although we had been in a better condition. But our politicians at that time had other views; and a new war must be undertaken upon the advice of those, who with their partizans and adherents were to be the sole gainers by it. A grand alliance was therefore made between the *Emperor*, *England*, and the *States-general*; by which, if the injuries complained of from *France* were not remedied

mediated in two months, the parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other *with their whole strength*.

Thus we became parties in a war in conjunction with two allies, whose share in the quarrel was beyond all proportion greater than ours. However I can see no reason from the words of the grand alliance, by which we were obliged to make those prodigious expences we have since been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the *whole strength of a nation*, as understood in that treaty, to be the utmost that a prince can raise annually from his subjects. If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at home or abroad, it is not properly speaking *his own strength*, or that of the nation, but the entire substance of particular persons, which not being able to raise out of the annual income of his kingdom, he takes upon security, and can only pay the interest. And by this method one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a possibility left of being ever redeemed.

Surely it would have been enough for us to have suspended the payment of our debts contracted in the former war; and to have continued our land and malt tax, with those others, which have since been mortgaged: these, with some additions, would have made up such a sum, as with prudent management might I suppose have maintained an hundred thousand men by sea and land; a reasonable *quota* in all conscience for that ally, who apprehended least danger, and expected least advantage. Nor can we imagine that either of the confederates, when the war began, would have been so unreasonable as to refuse joining with us upon such a foot, and expect that we should every year go between three and four millions in debt (which hath been our case) because the *French* could hardly have contrived any offers of a peace so ruinous to us as such a war. Posterity will be at a loss to conceive, what kind of spirit could possess their ancestors, who after ten years suffering by the unexampled politicks of a nation maintaining a war by annually pawning itself; and during a short peace, while they

they were looking back with horror on the heavy loads of debts they had contracted, universally condemning those pernicious counsels which had occasioned them; racking their invention for some remedies or expedients to mend their shattered condition; I say that these very people, without giving themselves time to breath, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and extensive war for the same or perhaps a greater period of time, and without any apparent necessity. It is obvious in a private fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same expences, must every year mortgage a greater quantity of land than he did before; and as the debt doubles and trebles upon him, so doth his inability to pay it. By the same proportion we have suffered twice as much by this last ten years war, as we did by the former; and if it were possible to continue it five years longer at the same rate, it would be as great a burthen as the whole twenty. This computation being so easy and trivial as it is almost a shame to mention it, posterity will think, that those who first advised the war wanted either the sense or the honesty to consider it.

And as we have wasted our strength and vital substance in this profuse manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to ends at least very different from those, for which we undertook the war, and often to effect others which after a peace we may severely repent. This is the second article I proposed to examine.

We have now for ten years together turned the whole force and expence of the war where the enemy was best able to hold us at a bay; where we could propose no manner of advantage to ourselves; where it was highly impolitick to enlarge our conquests; utterly neglecting that part, which would have saved and gained us many millions, which the perpetual maxims of our government teach us to pursue; which would have soonest weakened the enemy, and must either have promoted a speedy peace, or enabled us to continue the war.

Those who are fond of continuing the war, cry up our constant
success

success at a most prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely greater than in all human probability we had reason to hope. Ten glorious campaigns are passed, and now at last, like the sick man, we are just expiring with all sorts of good symptoms. Did the advisers of this war suppose it would continue ten years without expecting the success we have had; and yet at the same time determine, that *France* must be reduced, and *Spain* subdued, by employing our whole strength upon *Flanders*? Did they believe, the last war left us in a condition to furnish such vast supplies for so long a period without involving us and our posterity in unextricable debts? If after such miraculous *doings* we are not yet in a condition of bringing *France* to our terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, although we should proceed without any reverse of fortune; what could we look for in the ordinary course of things, but a *Flanders* war of at least twenty years longer? Do they indeed think, a town taken for the *Dutch* is a sufficient recompence to us for six millions of money; which is of so little consequence to determine the war, that the *French* may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a town every campaign at the same price?

I say not this by any means to detract from the army, or its leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, passing rivers, and taking towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumstances: but when all this brings no real solid advantage to us; when it hath no other end than to enlarge the territories of the *Dutch*, and increase the same and wealth of our *general*; I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they should be; and that surely our forces and money might be better employed, both towards reducing our enemy, and working out some benefit to our selves. But the case is still much harder; we are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting our substance, not for our own interest, which would be but common prudence; not for a thing indifferent, which would be sufficient folly; but perhaps to our own destruction, which is perfect madness. We may live to feel
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the effects of our own valour more sensibly, than all the consequences we imagine from the dominions of *Spain* in the duke of *Anjou*. We have conquered a noble territory for the *States*, that will maintain sufficient troops to defend itself, and feed many hundred thousand inhabitants; where all encouragement will be given to introduce and improve manufactures, which was the only advantage they wanted; and which, added to their skill, industry, and parsimony, will enable them to under-sell us in every market of the world.

Our supply of forty thousand men according to the first stipulation, added to the quotas' of the *Emperor* and *Holland*, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an army of near two hundred thousand, exclusive of garrisons: enough to withstand all the power, that *France* could bring against it; and we might have employed the rest much better both for the common cause and our own advantage.

The war in *Spain* must be imputed to the credulity of our ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the imperial court, that the *Spaniards* were so violently affected to the house of *Austria*, as upon the first appearance there with a few troops under the archduke the whole kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried; and found the *Emperor* to have deceived either us or himself. Yet there we drove on the war at a prodigious disadvantage with great expence; and by a most corrupt management the only * general, who by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous had nearly put us into possession of that kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince under the guidance of a rapacious *german* ministry, and at last called home in discontent. By which our armies both in *Spain* and *Portugal* were made a sacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery.

In common prudence we should either have pushed that war

* The earl of *Peterborough*.

with

with the utmost vigour in so fortunate a juncture, especially since the gaining that kingdom was the great point, for which we pretended to continue the war; or at least when we had *found*, or *made* that design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a management of it; but have kept our troops on the defensive in *Catalonia*, and pursued some other way more effectual for distressing the common enemy and advantaging ourselves.

And what a noble field of honour and profit had we before us wherein to employ the best of our strength, which against all maxims of *british* policy we suffered to lie wholly neglected! I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass that the style of *maritime powers*, by which our allies in a sort of contemptuous manner usually couple us with the *Dutch*, did never put us in mind of the sea; and while some politicians were shewing us the way to *Spain* by *Flanders*, others to *Savoy* or *Naples*, that the *West-Indies* should never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original *quota* of forty thousand men in *Flanders*, and at the same time by our fleets and naval forces have so distressed the *Spaniards* in the north and south seas of *America*, as to prevent any returns of money from thence except in our own bottoms. This is what best became us to do as a *maritime power*; this with any common degree of success would soon have compelled *France* to the necessities of a peace, and *Spain* to acknowledge the archduke. But while we for ten years have been squandering away our money upon the continent, *France* hath been wisely engrossing all the trade of *Peru*, going directly with their ships to *Lima* and other ports, and there receiving ingots of gold and silver for *french* goods of little value; which, besides the mighty advantage to their nation at present, may divert the channel of that trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast sums at *Cadiz* for our goods sent thence to the *spanish West-Indies*. All this we

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tamely

tamely saw and suffered without the least attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by some private men at *Bristol*, who inflamed by a true spirit of courage and industry did, about three years ago, with a few vessels fitted out at their own charge make a most successful voyage into those parts; took one of the *Aquapulco* ships, very narrowly mist of the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied wealth, to shew us what might have been done with the like management by a publick undertaking. At least we might easily have prevented those great returns of money to *France* and *Spain*, although we could not have taken it ourselves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the *French* are now so impoverished, in what condition must they have been if that issue of wealth had been stopped?

But great events often turn upon very small circumstances. It was the kingdom's misfortune, that the sea was not the duke of *Marlborough's* element; otherwise the whole force of the war would infallibly have been bestowed there infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, that if we alone had made such an attempt as this, *Holland* would have been jealous; or if we had done it in conjunction with *Holland*, the house of *Austria* would have been discontented. This hath been the style of late years; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any imagination, that while we are confederates in a war with those who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double share of the burthen upon us, we dare not think of any design (although against the common enemy) where there is the least prospect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies, while we are ruining ourselves to conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confess with shame, that this objection is true: for it is very well known, that

that while the design of Mr. *Hill's* expedition * remained a secret, it was suspected in *Holland* and *Germany* to be intended against *Peru*; whereupon the *Dutch* made every where their publick complaints; and the ministers at *Vienna* talked of it as an *insolence in the QUEEN to attempt such an undertaking*; which although it has failed, partly by the accidents of a storm, and partly by the stubbornness or treachery of some in that colony, for whose relief and at whose entreaty it was in some measure designed, is no objection at all to an enterprize so well concerted, and with such fair probability of success.

It was something singular that the *states* should express their uneasiness, when they thought we intended to make some attempt in the *spanish West-Indies*; because it is agreed between us, that whatever is conquered there by us or them shall belong to the conqueror; which is the only article that I can call to mind in all our treaties or stipulations with any view of interest to this kingdom; and for that very reason I suppose, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let those, who think this too severe a reflection, examine the whole management of the present war by sea and land, with all our alliances, treaties, stipulations, and conventions, and consider whether the whole doth not look, as if some particular care and industry had been used to prevent any benefit or advantage that might possibly accrue to *Britain*?

This kind of treatment from our two principal allies hath taught the same dialect to all the rest; so that there is not a petty prince whom we half maintain by subsidies and pensions, who is not ready upon every occasion to threaten us, that he will recall his troops (although they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in any demand, however unreasonable.

Upon the third head I shall produce some instances to shew,

* The expedition in 1711, wherein Sir *Howden Walker* commanded the fleet, and Mr. *Hill* the land forces for the reduction of *Quebec* and *Canada*, and regaining the *Newfoundland* fishery, which the *French* had taken from us.

how tamely we have suffered each of our allies to infringe every article in those treaties and stipulations, by which they were bound; and to lay the load upon us.

But before I enter upon this, which is a large subject, I shall take leave to offer a few remarks on certain articles in three of our treaties; which may let us perceive how much those ministers valued or understood the true interest, safety, or honour of their country.

We have made two alliances with *Portugal*, an offensive and a defensive: the first is to remain in force only during the present war; the second to be perpetual. In the offensive alliance the *Emperor*, *England* and *Holland* are parties with *Portugal*; in the defensive only we and the *States*.

Upon the first article of the offensive alliance it is to be observed, that although the grand alliance, as I have already said, allows *England* and *Holland* to possess for their own whatever each of them shall conquer in the *spanish West-Indies*; yet there we are quite cut out by consenting, that the archduke shall possess the dominions of *Spain* in as full a manner as their late king *Charles*. And what is more remarkable, we broke this very article in favour of *Portugal* by subsequent stipulations; where we agree that king *Charles* shall deliver up *Estramadura*, *Vigo*, and some other places to the *Portuguese*, as soon as we can conquer them from the enemy. They, who are guilty of so much folly and contradiction, know best whether it proceeded from corruption or stupidity.

By two other articles (besides the honour of being convoys and guards in ordinary to the *portuguese* ships and coasts) we are to guess the enemy's thoughts, and to take the king of *Portugal's* word whenever he hath a fancy that he shall be invaded. We are also to furnish him with a strength superior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemy's forces are, his *portuguese*

guese majesty is sole judge what strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an invasion; and may send our fleets whenever he pleases upon his errands to some of the farther parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coasts till he think fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things not only to the king, but to his viceroys, admirals and governours in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in an humour to apprehend an invasion; which I believe is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation.

In the defensive alliance with that crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only *England* and *Holland* are parties with them, the same care in almost the same words is taken for our fleet to attend their coasts and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We and the *States* are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit; and these are to be subject to the *portuguese* generals.

In the offensive alliance we took no care of having the assistance of *Portugal*, whenever we should be invaded; but in this it seems we are wiser; for that king is obliged to make war on *France* or *Spain*, whenever we or *Holland* are invaded by either; but before this we are to supply them with the same forces both by sea and land, as if he were invaded himself. And this must needs be a very prudent and safe course for a *maritime power* to take upon a sudden invasion; by which, instead of making use of our fleets and arms for our own defence, we must send them abroad for the defence of *Portugal*.

By the thirteenth article we are told what this assistance is which the *Portuguese* are to give us, and upon what conditions. They are to furnish ten men of war; and when *England* and *Holland* shall be invaded by *France* and *Spain* together, or by *Spain* alone, in either of these cases those ten *portuguese* men of war are to serve only upon their own coasts; where no doubt they will be of mighty use to their allies, and terror to the enemy. How

How the *Dutch* were drawn to have a part in either of these two alliances is not very material to enquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them; and I suppose never intended it; but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the load upon us.

Let any man read these two treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine that the king of *Portugal* and his ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their allies to sign; the whole spirit and tenor of them quite through running only upon this single point, what we and *Holland* are to do for *Portugal*, without any mention of an equivalent, except those ten ships, which at the time when we have greatest need of their assistance are obliged to attend upon their own coasts.

The barrier-treaty between *Great-Britain* and *Holland* was concluded at the *Hague* on the 29th of *October* in the year 1709. In this treaty neither her majesty nor her kingdoms have any interest or concern, farther than what is mentioned in the second and the twentieth articles: by the former the *States* are to assist the QUEEN in defending the act of succession; and by the other, not to treat of a peace, till *France* hath acknowledged the QUEEN and the succession of *Hanover*, and promised to remove the *pretender* out of that king's dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the safety and interest of the *States general*, that the protestant succession should be preserved in *England*; because such a *popish* prince as we apprehended, would infallibly join with *France* in the ruin of that republick. And the *Dutch* are as much bound to support our succession, as they are tied to any part of a treaty or league offensive and defensive against a common enemy, without any separate benefit upon that consideration. Her majesty is in the full peaceable possession of her kingdoms, and of the hearts of her people; among whom hardly one in five thousand are in the *pretender's* interest. And whether the assistance of the *Dutch* to preserve a right so well established be an equivalent to those many unreasonable exorbitant articles

articles in the rest of the treaty, let the world judge. What an impression of our settlement must it give abroad, to see our ministers offering such conditions to the *Dutch* to prevail on them to be guarantees of our acts of parliament! neither perhaps is it right in point of policy or good sense, that a foreign power should be called in to confirm our succession by way of guarantee, but only to acknowledge it; otherwise we put it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession without the consent of that prince or state, who is guarantee, how much soever the necessities of the kingdom may require it.

As to the other article, it is a natural consequence that must attend any treaty of peace we can make with *France*; being only the acknowledgment of her majesty as *QUEEN* of her own dominions, and the right of succession by our own laws, which no foreign power hath any pretence to dispute.

However, in order to deserve these mighty advantages from the *States*, the rest of the treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand alliance, which was the foundation of the present war, the *spanish Low-countries* were to be recovered and delivered to the king of *Spain*; but by this treaty that prince is to possess nothing in *Flanders* during the war; and after a peace the *States* are to have the military command of about twenty towns, with their dependences, and four hundred thousand crowns a year from the king of *Spain* to maintain their garisons. [By which means they will have the command of all *Flanders*, from *Newport* on the sea to *Namur* on the *Maese*, and be entirely masters of the *Pais de waas*, the richest part of those provinces. Further, they have liberty to garison any place they shall think fit in the *spanish Low-countries*, whenever there is an appearance of war; and consequently to put garisons into *Ostend*, or where else they please, upon a rupture with *England*.

By this treaty likewise the *Dutch* will in effect be entire masters
of

of all the *Low-countries*; may impose duties, restrictions in commerce, and prohibitions at their pleasure; and in that fertile country may set up all sorts of manufactures, particularly the woollen by inviting the disobliged manufacturers in *Ireland* and the *french* refugees, who are scattered all over *Germany*. And as this manufacture increaseth abroad, the clothing people of *England* will be necessitated for want of employment to follow; and in few years, by help of the low interest of money in *Holland*, *Flanders* may recover that beneficial trade, which we got from them. The landed men of *England* will then be forced to re-establish the staples of wool abroad; and the *Dutch*, instead of being only the carriers, will become the original possessors of those commodities, with which the greatest part of the trade of the world is now carried on. And as they increase their trade, it is obvious they will enlarge their strength at sea, and that ours must lessen in proportion.

All the ports in *Flanders* are to be subject to the like duties, that the *Dutch* shall lay upon the *Scheld*, which is to be closed on the side of the *States*: thus all other nations are in effect shut out from trading with *Flanders*. Yet in the very same article it is said, that the *States* shall be favoured in all the spanish dominions as much as Great-Britain, or as the people most favoured. We have conquered *Flanders* for them, and are in a worse condition as to our trade there, than before the war began. We have been the great support of the king of *Spain*, to whom the *Dutch* have hardly contributed any thing at all; and yet they are to be equally favoured with us in all his dominions. Of all this the QUEEN is under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee, and that they shall possess their barrier and their four hundred thousand crowns a year, even before a peace.

It is to be observed, that this treaty was only signed by one of our plenipotentiaries*; and I have been told that the other† was

* Lord Townshend. See *John Bull*, p. 46.

† Duke of Marlborough.

heard

heard to say, he would rather lose his right-hand than set it to such a treaty. Had he spoke those words in due season, and loud enough to be heard on this side the water, considering the credit he had then at court, he might have saved much of his country's honour, and got as much to himself; therefore if the report be true, I am inclined to think he only SAID it. I have been likewise told, that some very necessary circumstances were wanting in the entrance upon this treaty; but the ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the honour of the crown, and the safety of their country, than not ratify what one of their favourites had transacted.

Let me now consider in what manner our allies have observed those treaties they made with us, and the several stipulations and agreements pursuant to them.

By the grand alliance between the *Empire*, *England*, and *Holland*, we were to assist the other two *totis viribus* by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty the proportions, which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner; the *Emperor* was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against *France*, either in *Italy*, or upon the *Rhine*; *Holland* to bring sixty thousand into the field in *Flanders*, exclusive of *garisons*; and we forty thousand. In winter 1702, which was the next year, the duke of *Marlborough* proposed raising ten thousand men more by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the *Dutch* were to raise the same number. This was upon a *par*, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted with a condition that *Holland* should break off all trade and commerce with *France*. But this condition was never executed; the *Dutch* only amusing us with a specious declaration, till our session of parliament was ended; and the following year it was taken off by concert between our *general* and the *States*, without any reason assigned, for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next

and some ensuing campaigns further additional forces were allowed by parliament for the war in *Flanders*; and in every new supply the *Dutch* gradually lessened their proportions, although the parliament addressed the QUEEN, that the *States* might be desired to observe them according to agreement; which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it by making their troops nominal corps; as they did by keeping up the number of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money; so that now things are just inverted. And in all new levies we contributed a third more than the *Dutch*, who at first were obliged to the same proportion more than us.

Besides, the more towns we conquer for the *States*, the worse condition we are in towards reducing the common enemy, and consequently of putting an end to the war. For they make no scruple of employing the troops of their *quota* towards garisoning every town, as fast as it is taken; directly contrary to the agreement between us, by which all garisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived by several steps to such a height, that there are at present in the field not so many forces under the duke of *Marlborough's* command in *Flanders*, as *Britain* alone maintains for that service, nor have been for some years past.

The duke of *Marlborough* having entered the enemies lines and taken *Bouchain*, formed the design of keeping so great a number of troops, and particularly of cavalry, in *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Deway* and the country between, as should be able to harass all the neighbouring provinces of *France* during the winter, prevent the enemy from erecting their magazines, and by consequence from subsisting their forces next spring, and render it impossible for them to assemble their army another year, without going back behind the *Soame* to do it. In order to effect this project, it was necessary to be at an expence extraordinary of forage for the troops, for building stables, finding fire and candle for the soldiers, with other incident charges. The QUEEN readily agreed to furnish her share of

of the first article, that of the forage, which only belonged to her. But the *States* insisting that her majesty should likewise come into a proportion of the other articles, which in justice belonged totally to them; she agreed even to that, rather than a design of this importance should fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the *Dutch* refused their consent till the time was past for putting it in execution, even in the opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain article in the treaties of contributions submitted to by such of the *French* dominions, as pay them to the *States*, was the principal cause of defeating this project; since one great advantage to have been gained by it was, as is before mentioned, to have hindered the enemy from erecting their magazines; and one article in those treaties of contributions is, that the product of those countries shall pass free and unmolested. So that the question was reduced to this short issue: whether the *Dutch* should lose this paucity benefit, or the common cause an advantage of such mighty importance.

The sea being the element, where we might most probably carry on the war with any advantage to ourselves, it was agreed that we should bear five eighths of the charge in that service, and the *Dutch* the other three; and by the grand alliance whatever we or *Holland* should conquer in the *Spanish West-Indies*, was to accrue to the conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this *maritime ally* of ours would have made up in their fleet what they fell short in their army; but quite otherwise, they never once furnished their *quota* either of ships or men; or if some few of their fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing; for they immediately separated to look to their merchants and protect their trade. And we may remember very well, when these guarantees of our succession, after having not one ship for many months together in the *Mediterranean*, sent that part of their *quota* thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the rumour of an invasion. And last year

when Sir *James Wisbart* was dispatched into *Holland* to expostulate with the *States*, and to desire they would make good their agreements in so important a part of the service; he met with such a reception as ill became a republick to give, that were under so many great obligations to us; in short such an one, as those only deserve who are content to take it.

It hath likewise been no small inconvenience to us, that the *Dutch* are always slow in paying their subsidies; by which means the weight and pressure of the payment lies upon the QUEEN, as well as the blame if her majesty be not very exact. Nor will even this always content our allies: for in *July 1711* the king of *Spain* was paid all his subsidies to the first of *January* next; nevertheless he hath since complained for want of money; and his secretary threatened, that if we would not further supply his majesty, he could not answer for what might happen; although king *Charles* had not at that time one third of the troops for which he was paid; and even those he had were neither paid nor clothed.

I cannot forbear mentioning here another passage concerning subsidies, to shew what opinion foreigners have of our easiness, and how much they reckon themselves masters of our money, whenever they think fit to call for it. The QUEEN was by agreement to pay two hundred thousand crowns a year to the *prussian* troops; the *States* one hundred thousand; and the *Emperor* only thirty thousand for recruiting; which his imperial majesty never paid. Prince *Eugene* happening to pass by *Berlin*, the ministers of that court applied to him for redress in this particular; and his highness very frankly promised them, that in consideration of this deficiency *Britain* and the *States* should increase their subsidies to seventy thousand crowns more between them; and that the *Emperor* should be punctual for the time to come. This was done by that prince without any orders or power whatsoever. The *Dutch* very reasonably refused consenting to it; but the *prussian* minister here making his applications at our court prevailed on us
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to agree to our proportion, before we could hear what resolution would be taken in *Holland*. It is therefore to be hoped, that his *prussian* majesty at the end of this war will not have the same cause of complaint, which he had at the close of the last; that his military chest was emptier by twenty thousand crowns than at the time that war began.

The *Emperor*, as we have already said, was by stipulation to furnish ninety thousand men against the common enemy, as having no fleets to maintain, and in right of his family being most concerned in the success of the war. However this agreement hath been so ill observed, that from the beginning of the war to this day neither of the two last *Emperors* had ever twenty thousand men on their own account in the common cause, excepting once in *Italy*, when the *imperial* court exerted itself in a point they have much more at heart, than that of gaining *Spain* or the *Indies* to their family. When they had succeeded in their attempts on the side of *Italy*, and observed our blind zeal for pushing on the war at all adventures, they soon found out the most effectual expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily, that it would cost them less to make large presents to one single person than to pay an army, and turn to as good account. They thought they could not put their affairs into better hands; and therefore wisely left us to fight their battles.

Besides, it appeared by several instances how little the *Emperor* regarded his allies, or the cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the *empire* itself was secure. It is known enough, that he might several times have made a peace with his discontented subjects in *Hungary* upon terms not at all unbefitting either his dignity or interest; but he rather chose to sacrifice the whole alliance to his private passion by entirely subduing and enslaving a miserable people, who had but too much provocation to take up arms to free themselves from the oppressions, under which they were groaning; yet this must serve as an excuse for breaking his
agreement.

agreement and diverting so great a body of troops, which might have been employed against *France*.

Another instance of the *Emperor's* indifference, or rather dislike, to the common cause of the allies is the business of *Toulon*. This design was indeed discovered here at home by a person, whom every body knows to be the creature of a certain *great man* at least as much noted for his skill in gaming as in politicks, upon the base mercenary end of getting money by wagers; which was then so common a practice, that I remember a gentleman in business, who having the curiosity to enquire how wagers went upon the *Exchange*, found some people deep in the secret to have been concerned in that kind of traffick; as appeared by premiums named for towns, which no body but those behind the curtain could suspect. However, although this project had gotten wind by so scandalous a proceeding; yet *Toulon* might probably have been taken, if the *Emperor* had not thought fit in that very juncture to detach twelve or fifteen thousand men to seize *Naples*, as an enterprize that was more his private and immediate interest. But it was manifest, that his *imperial* majesty had no mind to see *Toulon* in possession of the allies; for even with these discouragements the attempt might yet have succeeded, if prince *Eugene* had not thought fit to oppose it; which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to some politick reasons of his court. The duke of *Savoy* was for attacking the enemy as soon as our army arrived; but when the mareschal *de Tbesse's* troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the place in the condition we were at that time was a farce and a jest. Had *Toulon* fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of *France* would in a great measure have been destroyed.

But a much greater instance than either of the foregoing, how little the *Emperor* regarded us or our quarrel, after all we had done to save his *imperial* crown, and to assert the title of his brother to the monarchy of *Spain*, may be brought from the proceedings of that court not many months ago. It was judged, that a
war

war carried on upon the side of *Italy* would cause a great diversion of the *French* forces, wound them in a very tender part, and facilitate the progress of our arms in *Spain* as well as *Flanders*. It was proposed to the duke of *Savoy* to make this diversion; and not only a diversion during the summer, but the winter too, by taking quarters on this side of the hills. Only in order to make him willing and able to perform this work two points were to be settled: first, it was necessary to end the dispute between the imperial court and his royal highness, which had no other foundation than the *Emperor's* refusing to make good some articles of that treaty, on the faith of which the duke engaged in the present war, and for the execution whereof *Britain* and *Holland* became guarantees at the request of the late emperor *Leopold*. To remove this difficulty the earl of *Peterborough* was dispatched to *Vienna*, got over some part of those disputes to the satisfaction of the duke of *Savoy*, and had put the rest in a fair way of being accommodated at the time the emperor *Joseph* died. Upon which great event the duke of *Savoy* took the resolution of putting himself at the head of the army, although the whole matter was not finished, since the common cause required his assistance; and that until a new emperor were elected, it was impossible to make good the treaty to him. In order to enable him the only thing he asked was, that he should be reinforced by the imperial court with eight thousand men before the end of the campaign. Mr. *Whitworth* was sent to *Vienna* to make this proposal; and it is credibly reported that he was impowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thousand pounds for the march of those eight thousand men, if he found it was want of ability and not inclination, that hindered the sending them. But he was so far from succeeding, that it was said the ministers of that court did not so much as give him an opportunity to tempt them with any particular sums; but cut off all his hopes at once by alledging the impossibility of complying with the *QUEEN's* demands upon any consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their
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their old excuse of the war in *Hungary*, which was then brought to an end. They had nothing to offer but some general speculative reasons, which it would expose them to repeat; and so after much delay, and many trifling pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an assistance; to the ruin of a project that would have more terrified *France*, and caused a greater diversion of their forces, than a much more numerous army in any other part. Thus for want of eight thousand men, for whose winter-campaign the QUEEN was willing to give forty thousand pounds; and for want of executing the design I lately mentioned of hindering the enemy from erecting magazines, towards which her majesty was ready not only to bear her own proportion, but a share of that which the *States* were obliged to; our hopes of taking winter-quarters in the north and south parts of *France* are eluded, and the war left in that method which is like to continue it longest. Can there an example be given in the whole course of this war, where we have treated the pettiest prince with whom we had to deal in so contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to when our assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate apprehensions of being invaded?

When *Portugal* came as a confederate into the grand alliance, it was stipulated, that the Empire, *England*, and *Holland*, should each maintain four thousand men of their own troops in that kingdom, and pay between them a million of patacoons to the king of *Portugal* for the support of twenty eight thousand *Portuguese*; which number of forty thousand was to be the confederate army against *Spain* on the *Portugal* side. This treaty was ratified by all the three powers. But in a short time after the *Emperor* declared himself unable to comply with his part of the agreement, and so left the two thirds upon us; who very generously undertook that burthen, and at the same time two thirds of the subsidies for maintenance of the *portuguese* troops. But neither is this
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the worst part of the story; for although the *Dutch* did indeed send their own *quota* of four thousand men to *Portugal* (which however they would not agree to but upon condition that the other two thirds should be supplied by us;) yet they never took care to recruit them; for in the year 1706, the *portuguese, british,* and *dutch* forces having marched with the earl of *Galway* into *Castile*, and by the noble conduct of that general being forced to retire into *Valencia*, it was found necessary to raise a new army on the *Portugal* side; where the QUEEN hath at several times encreased her establishment to ten thousand five hundred men; and the *Dutch* never re-placed one single man, nor paid one penny of their subsidies to *Portugal* in six years.

The *spanish* army on the side of *Catalonia* is, or ought to be, about fifty thousand men, exclusive of *Portugal*. And here the war hath been carried on almost entirely at our cost. For this whole army is paid by the QUEEN, excepting only seven battalions and fourteen squadrons of *Dutch* and *Palatines*; and even fifteen hundred of these are likewise in our pay; besides the sums given to king *Charles* for subsidies and the maintenance of his court. Neither are our troops at *Gibraltar* included within this number. And further, we alone have been at all the charge of transporting the forces first sent from *Genoa* to *Barcelona*; and of all the *imperial* recruits from time to time. And have likewise paid vast sums as levy-money for every individual man and horse so furnished to recruit; although the horses were scarce worth the price of transportation. But this hath been almost the constant misfortune of our fleet during the present war; instead of being employed on some enterprize for the good of the nation, or even for the protection of our trade, to be wholly taken up in transporting soldiers.

We have actually conquered all *Bavaria, Ulm, Augsbourg, Landau*, and a great part of *Alsace*, for the *Emperor*: and by the troops we have furnished, the armies we have paid, and the di-

versions we have given to the enemies forces, have chiefly contributed to the conquests of *Milan*, *Mantua*, and *Mirandola*, and to the recovery of the duchy of *Modena*. The last *Emperor* drained the wealth of those countries into his own coffers, without increasing his troops against *France* by such mighty acquisitions, or yielding to the most reasonable requests we have made.

Of the many towns we have taken for the *Dutch*, we have consented by the barrier-treaty, that all those which were not in the possession of *Spain* upon the death of the late catholick king, shall be part of the *States* dominions; and that they shall have the military power in the most considerable of the rest; which is in effect to be the absolute sovereigns of the whole. And the *Hollanders* have already made such good use of their time, that in conjunction with our general the oppressions of *Flanders* are much greater than ever.

And this treatment, which we have received from our two principal allies, hath been pretty well copied by most other princes in the confederacy, with whom we have any dealings. For instance: seven *portuguese* regiments after the battle of *Almanza* went off with the rest of that broken army to *Catalonia*; the king of *Portugal* said he was not able to pay them, while they were out of his country; the QUEEN consented therefore to do it herself, provided the king would raise as many more to supply their place. This he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithstanding which his subsidies were constantly paid him by my lord *Godolphin* for almost four years, without any deduction upon account of those seven regiments; directly contrary to the seventh article of our offensive alliance with that crown, where it is agreed, that a deduction shall be made out of those subsidies, in proportion to the number of men wanting in that complement which the king is to maintain. But whatever might have been the reasons for this proceeding, it seems they are above the understanding of the * pre-

* Earl of Oxford.

sent lord *treasurer*; who not entring into those refinements of paying the *publick* money upon *private* considerations, hath been so uncourtly as to stop it. This disappointment I suppose hath put the court of *Lisbon* upon other expedients, of raising the price of forage, so as to force us either to lessen our number of troops, or be at double expence in maintaining them; and this at a time, when their own product as well as the import of corn was never greater; and of demanding a duty upon the soldiers cloaths we carried over for those troops, which have been their sole defence against an inveterate enemy; and whose example might have infused courage, as well as taught them discipline, if their spirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our forces every year in the same proportion as those for whom we fight diminish theirs, we have been obliged to hire troops from several princes of the empire, whose ministers and residents here have perpetually importuned the court with unreasonable demands, under which our late ministers thought fit to be passive. For those demands were always backed with a threat to recal their soldiers; which was a thing not to be heard of, because it might *discontent the Dutch*. In the mean time those princes never sent their contingent to the *Emperor* as by the laws of the empire they are obliged to do; but gave for their excuse, that we had already hired all they could possibly spare.

But if all this be true; if, according to what I have affirmed, we began this war contrary to reason; if, as the other party themselves upon all occasions acknowledge, the success we have had was more than we could reasonably expect; if after all our success we have not made that use of it, which in reason we ought to have done; if we have made weak and foolish bargains with our allies; suffered them tamely to break every article even in those bargains to our disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with insolence and contempt at the very instant when we were gaining towns, provinces and kingdoms for them at the price of our ruin, and

without any prospect of interest to ourselves; if we have consumed all our strength in attacking the enemy on the strongest side, where (as the old duke of *Schomberg* expressed it) *to engage with France was to take a bull by the horns*; and left wholly unattempted that part of the war, which could only enable us to continue or to end it; if all this, I say, be our case, it is a very obvious question to ask, by what motives or what management we are thus become the *dupes* and *bubbles* of *Europe*? Sure it cannot be owing to the stupidity arising from the coldness of our climate; since those among our allies, who have given us most reason to complain, are as far removed from the sun as ourselves.

If in laying open the real causes of our present misery I am forced to speak with some freedom, I think it will require no apology. Reputation is the smallest sacrifice those can make us, who have been the instruments of our ruin; because it is that for which in all probability they have the least value. So that in exposing the actions of such persons it cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an injury. But as it will be some satisfaction to our people to know by whom they have been so long abused; so it may be of great use to us, and our posterity, not to trust the safety of their country in the hands of those, who act by such principles, and from such motives.

I have already observed, that when the counsels of this war were debated in the late king's time, a certain *great man* was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his employment, and tell the king he could serve him no longer. Upon that prince's death, although the grounds of our quarrel with *France* had received no manner of addition, yet this lord thought fit to alter his sentiments; for the scene was quite changed; his lordship, and the family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an alliance, were in the highest credit possible with the *QUEEN*. The treasurer's staff was ready for his lordship; the duke was to command the army, and the duchess by her employ-
ments,

ments, and the favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest her majesty's person; by which the whole power at home and abroad would be devolved upon that family. This was a prospect so very inviting, that to confess the truth it could not be easily withstood by any, who have so keen an appetite for wealth or power. By an agreement subsequent to the grand alliance we were to assist the *Dutch* with forty thousand men, all to be commanded by the duke of *Marlborough*. So that whether this war was prudently begun, or not, it is plain that the true spring or motive of it was the aggrandizing a particular family; and in short a war of the *general* and the *ministry*, and not of the *prince* or *people*; since those very persons were against it when they knew the power and consequently the profit would be in other hands.

With these measures fell in all that set of people, who are called the *monied men*; such as had raised vast sums by trading with stocks and funds, and lending upon great interest and premiums; whose perpetual harvest is war, and whose beneficial way of traffick must very much decline by a peace.

In that whole chain of encroachments made upon us by the *Dutch*, which I have above deduced; and under those several gross impositions from other princes if any one should ask, why our general continued so easy to the last? I know no other way so probable, or indeed so charitable, to account for it, as by that unmeasurable love of wealth, which his best friends allow to be his predominant passion. However I shall wave any thing that is personal upon this subject. I shall say nothing of those great presents made by several princes, which the soldiers used to call *winter-foraging*, and said it was better than that of the *summer*; of two and half *per cent.* subtracted out of all the subsidies we pay in those parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable sum; and lastly, of the grand perquisites in a long successful war, which are so amicably adjusted between him and the *States*.

But when the war was thus begun, there soon fell in other incidents

dents here at home, which made the continuance of it necessary for those, who were the chief advisers. The *whigs* were at that time out of all credit or consideration. The reigning favourites had always carried what was called the *tory principles* at least as high as our constitution could bear; and most others in great employments were wholly in the church interest. These last, among whom were several persons of the greatest merit, quality and consequence, were not able to endure the many instances of pride, insolence, avarice and ambition, which those favourites began so early to discover, nor to see them presuming to be sole dispensers of the royal favour. However their opposition was to no purpose; they wrestled with too great a power, and were soon crushed under it. For those in possession finding they could never be quiet in their usurpations, while others had any credit, who were at least upon an equal foot of merit, began to make overtures to the discarded *whigs*, who would be content with any terms of accommodation. Thus commenced this *solemn league and covenant*, which hath ever since been cultivated with so much application. The great traders in money were wholly devoted to the *whigs*, who had first raised them. The army, the court, and the treasury, continued under the old *despotick* administration: the *whigs* were received into employment, left to manage the parliament, cry down the landed interest, and worry the church. Mean time our allies, who were not ignorant, that all this artificial structure had no true foundation in the hearts of the people, resolved to make the best use of it as long as it should last. And the general's credit being raised to a great height at home by our success in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* began their gradual impositions; lessening their *quotas*, breaking their stipulations, garisoning the towns we took for them, without supplying their troops; with many other infringements: all which we were forced to submit to, because the general was *made easy*; because the monied men at home were fond of the war; because the *whigs* were not firmly settled; and
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because that exorbitant degree of power, which was built upon a supposed necessity of employing particular persons, would go off in a peace. It is needless to add, that the Emperor, and other princes, followed the example of the *Dutch*, and succeeded as well, for the same reasons.

I have here imputed the continuance of the war to the mutual indulgence between our general and allies, wherein they both so well found their accounts; to the fears of the *money-changers*, lest their *tables should be overthrown*; to the designs of the *whigs*, who apprehended the loss of their credit and employments in a peace; and to those at home, who held their immoderate engrossments of power and favour by no other tenure, than their own presumption upon the necessity of affairs. The truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what unanimity and concert these several parties acted towards that great end.

When the vote passed in the house of lords against any peace without *Spain* being restored to the *Austrian* family, the earl of *Wharton* told the house, that it was indeed impossible and impracticable to recover *Spain*; but however there were *certain reasons* why such a vote should be made at that time; which reasons wanted no explanation: for the general and the ministry having refused to accept very advantageous offers of a peace, after the battle of *Ramillies*, were forced to take in a set of men with a previous bargain to screen them from the consequences of that miscarriage. And accordingly, upon the first succeeding opportunity that fell, which was the * prince of *Denmark's* death, the chief leaders of the party were brought into several great employments.

Thus when the *QUEEN* was no longer able to bear the tyranny and insolence of those ungrateful servants, who as they *waxed the fatter* did but *kick the more*; our two great allies abroad, and our stock-jobbers at home, took immediate alarm; applied the nearest way to the throne by memorials and messages jointly directing her

* Prince George of Denmark, husband to queen Anne.

majesty not to change her secretary or treasurer; who for the true reasons that these officious intermeddlers demanded their continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least degree of trust; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the interest of their native country to those princes, who in their turns were to do what they could to support them in power at home.

Thus it plainly appears that there was a conspiracy on all sides to go on with those measures, which must perpetuate the war; and a conspiracy founded upon the interest and ambition of each party; which begat so firm an union, that instead of wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished to think how it came to be broken. The prudence, courage and firmness of her majesty in all the steps of that great change would, if the particulars were truly related, make a very shining part in her story; nor is her judgment less to be admired, which directed her in the choice of perhaps the only persons, who had skill credit and resolution enough to be her instruments in overthrowing so many difficulties.

Some would pretend to lessen the merit of this by telling us, that the rudeness, the tyranny, the oppression, the ingratitude of the late favourites towards their mistress were no longer to be born. They produce instances to shew, how her majesty was pursued through all her retreats, particularly at *Windsor*; where after the enemy had possessed themselves of every inch of ground, they at last attacked and stormed the castle, forcing the QUEEN to fly to an adjoining cottage pursuant to the advice of *Solomon*, who tells us, *It is better to live on the house top, than with a scolding woman in a large house.* They would have it, that such continued ill usage was enough to enflame the meekest spirit. They blame the favourites in point of policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the QUEEN should be at an end of her patience and resolve to discard them. But I am of another opinion, and think their proceedings were right. For nothing is so apt to break even the bravest spirits as a continual chain of oppressions; one injury is best defended by a second,

second, and this by a third. By these steps the old *masters of the palace* in *France* became * *masters of the kingdom*; and by these steps a *general during pleasure* might have grown into a *general for life*, and a *general for life* into a *king*. So that I still insist upon it as a wonder, how her majesty thus besieged on all sides was able to extricate herself.

Having thus mentioned the real causes, although disguised under specious pretences, which have so long continued the war, I must beg leave to reason a little with those persons, who are against any peace but what they call a *good one*; and explain themselves, that no peace can be *good* without an entire restoration of *Spain* to the house of *Austria*. It is to be supposed, that what I am to say upon this part of the subject will have little influence on those, whose particular ends or designs of any sort lead them to wish the continuance of the war: I mean the general and our allies abroad, the knot of late favourites at home, the body of such as traffick in stocks, and lastly, that set of factious politicians, who were so violently bent at least upon *clipping* our constitution in church and state. Therefore I shall not apply myself to any of these, but to all others indifferently, whether *whigs* or *tories*, whose private interest is best answered by the welfare of their country. And if among these there be any, who think we ought to fight on till king *Charles* be quietly settled in the monarchy of *Spain*, I believe there are several points, which they have not thoroughly considered.

For first it is to be observed, that this resolution against any peace without *Spain* is a new incident, grafted upon the original quarrel by the intrigues of a faction among us, who prevailed to give it the sanction of a vote in both houses of parliament to justify those whose interest lay in perpetuating the war. And as this proceeding was against the practice of all princes and states, whose intentions were fair and honourable; so is it contrary to common

* See the Tale of a Tub, page 9.

prudence as well as justice, I might add, that it was impious too, by presuming to controul events which are only in the hands of God. Ours and the *States* complaint against *France* and *Spain* are deduced in each of our declarations of war, and our pretensions specified in the *eighth article* of the grand alliance; but there is not in any of these the least mention of demanding *Spain* for the *house* of *Austria*, or of refusing any peace without that condition. Having already made an extract from both declarations of war, I shall here give a translation of the *eighth article* in the grand alliance, which will put this matter out of dispute.

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE.

WHEN the war is once undertaken, none of the parties shall have the liberty to enter upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but jointly and in concert with the others. Nor is peace to be made without having first obtained a just and reasonable satisfaction for his *cæsarean* majesty, and for his royal majesty of Great-Britain, and a particular security to the lords the States-general of their dominions, provinces, titles, navigation and commerce: and a sufficient provision, that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the government of the same person, or that the same man may never be king of both kingdoms; and particularly, that the French may never be in possession of the *spanish* West-Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of navigation for conveniency of trade under any pretence whatsoever, neither directly or indirectly; except it is agreed, that the subjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full power to use and enjoy all the same privileges, rights, immunities and liberties of commerce by land and sea in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the places and countries which the late king of Spain, at the time of his death, was in possession of, as well in Europe, as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy; or which the subjects of both, or each nation, could use and enjoy, by virtue of any right,

right, obtained before the death of the said king of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, custom, or any other way whatsoever.

Here we see the demands intended to be insisted on by the allies upon any treaty of peace are, a just and reasonable satisfaction for the *Emperor* and king of *Great Britain*, a security to the *States-general* for their dominions, etc. and a sufficient provision, that *France* and *Spain* be never united under the same man as king of both kingdoms. The rest relates to the liberty of trade and commerce for us and the *Dutch*; but not a syllable of engaging to dispossess the duke of *Anjou*.

But to know how this new language, of *no peace without Spain*, was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

It was the partition treaty, which begot the will in favour of the duke of *Anjou*; for this naturally led the *Spaniards* to receive a prince supported by a great power, whose interest as well as affection engaged them to preserve that monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in favour of another family, who must expect assistance from a number of confederates, whose principal members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and by a previous treaty parcelled out the monarchy of *Spain*.

Thus the duke of *Anjou* got into the full possession of all the kingdoms and states belonging to that monarchy, as well in the old world as the new. And whatever the house of *Austria* pretended from their memorials to us and the *States*, it was at that time but too apparent, that the inclinations of the *Spaniards* were on the duke's side.

However, a war was resolved; and in order to carry it on with great vigour a grand alliance formed, wherein the ends proposed to be obtained are plainly and distinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleased God, in the course of this war to bless the arms of the allies with remarkable successes; by which

we were soon put into a condition of demanding and expecting such terms of peace, as we proposed to ourselves when we began the war. But instead of this, our victories only served to lead us on to further visionary prospects; advantage was taken of the sanguine temper, which so many successes had wrought the nation up to; new romantick views were proposed, and the old, reasonable, sober design was forgot.

This was the artifice of those here, who were sure to grow richer, as the publick became poorer; and who, after the resolutions which the two houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the war with safety to themselves, till malt and land were mortgaged, till a general excise was established, and the *di-zieme denier* raised by *collectors in red coats*. And this was just the circumstance, which it suited their interests to be in.

The house of *Austria* approved this scheme with reason; since whatever would be obtained by the blood and treasure of others, was to accrue to that family, while they only lent their name to the cause.

The *Dutch* might perhaps have grown resty under their burthen; but care was likewise taken of that by a *barrier treaty* made with the *States*, which deserveth such epithets as I care not to bestow; but may perhaps consider it at a proper occasion in a * *discourse* by itself.

By this treaty the condition of the war with respect to the *Dutch* was wisely altered; they fought no longer for security, but for grandeur; and we, instead of labouring to make them *safe*, must beggar ourselves to make them *formidable*.

Will any one contend, that if at the treaty of *Gertruydenburgh* we could have been satisfied with such terms of a peace, as we proposed to ourselves by the grand alliance, the *French* would not have allowed them? It is plain they offered many more, and much greater, than ever we thought to insist on when the war began;

* Which *Discourse* follows next in this Volume.

and

and they had reason to grant, as well as we to demand them; since conditions of peace do certainly turn upon events of war. But surely there is some measure to be observed in this; those, who have defended the proceedings of our negotiators at the treaty of *Gertruydenburgh*, dwell very much upon their zeal and patience in endeavouring to work the *French* up to their demands; but say nothing to justify those demands, or the probability that *France* would ever accept them. Some of the articles in that treaty were so very extravagant, that in all human probability we could not have obtained them by a successful war of forty years. One of them was inconsistent with common reason; wherein the confederates reserved to themselves full liberty of demanding what further conditions they should think fit; and in the mean time *France* was to deliver up several of their strongest towns in a month. These articles were very gravely signed by our plenipotentiaries, and those of *Holland*; but not by the *French*, although it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay, they were brought over by the secretary of the embassy; and the ministers here prevailed on the QUEEN to execute a ratification of articles, which only one part had signed. This was an absurdity in form, as well as in reason; because the usual form of a ratification is with a preamble, shewing; *that whereas our ministers, and those of the allies, and of the enemy, have signed, etc. We ratify, etc.* * The person who brought over the articles said in all companies (and perhaps believed) that it was a pity we had not demanded more; for the *French* were in a disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our plenipotentiaries affected to have the same concern; and particularly that we had not obtained some further security for the empire on the *Upper Rhine*.

What could be the design of all this grimace but to amuse the people, and to raise stocks for their friends in the secret to sell to advantage? I have too great a respect for the abilities of those,

* *Horatio Walpole*, secretary to that embassy.

who

who acted in this negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other issue from it, than that we found by the event. Give me leave to suppose, the continuance of the war was the thing at heart among those in power, both abroad and at home; and then I can easily shew the consistency of their proceedings, otherwise they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those, who insisted on such wild demands, ever sincerely intend a peace? Did they really think, that going on with the war was more eligible for their country, than the least abatement of those conditions? Was the smallest of them worth six millions a year, and an hundred thousand mens lives? Was there no way to provide for the safety of *Britain*, or the security of its trade, but by the *french* king's turning his arms to beat his own grandson out of *Spain*? If these able statesmen were so truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the war's beginning, as well as continuance; why did they so neglect it in those very preliminaries, where the enemy made so many concessions, and where all that related to the advantage of *Holland*, or the other confederates, was expressly settled? But whatever concerned us was to be left to a general treaty; no *tariff* agreed on with *France* or the *Low-countries*, only the *Schelde* was to remain shut, which must have ruined our commerce with *Antwerp*. Our trade with *Spain* was referred the same way; but this they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the house of *Austria*, and we have already made a treaty with king *Charles*. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. *Stanhope* with that prince, for settling our commerce with *Spain*: but whatever it were, there was another between us and *Holland*, which went hand in hand with it, I mean that of *barrier*, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages proposed for *Britain* are to be in common with *Holland*.

Another point, which I doubt those have not considered, who are against any peace without *Spain*, is that the face of affairs in *christendom* since the *Emperor's* death hath been very much changed.

ed. By this accident the views and interests of several princes and states in the alliance have taken a new turn, and I believe it will be found that ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already by changing our measures with regard to a peace, while our affairs continued in the same posture; and it will be too much in conscience to blunder again by *not* changing the first, when the others are so much altered.

To have a prince of the *austrian* family on the throne of *Spain* is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the house of *Bourbon*; but to have the *empire* and *spanish* monarchy united in the same person is a dreadful consideration, and directly opposite to that wise principle on which the eighth article of the alliance is founded.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that the indolent character of the *austrian* princes, the wretched oeconomy of that government, the want of a naval force, the remote distance of their several territories from each other, would never suffer an *Emperor*, although at the same time king of *Spain*, to become formidable: on the contrary, that his dependance must continually be on *Great Britain*, and the advantages of trade by a peace founded upon that condition would soon make us amends for all the expences of the war.

In answer to this let us consider the circumstances we must be in, before such a peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We must become not only poor for the present, but reduced by further mortgages to a state of beggary for endless years to come. Compare such a weak condition as this with so great an accession of strength to *Austria*; and then determine how much an *Emperor* in such a state of affairs, would either fear or need *Britain*.

Consider that the comparison is not formed between a prince of the house of *Austria*, emperor and king of *Spain*, and with a prince of the *bourbon* family, king of *France* and *Spain*; but between

tween a prince of the latter only king of *Spain*, and one of the former uniting both crowns in his own person.

What returns of gratitude can we expect when we are no longer wanted? Hath all that we have hitherto done for the imperial family been taken as a favour, or only received as the due of the *augustissima casa*?

Will the house of *Austria* yield the least acre of land, the least article of strained, and even usurped prerogative to resettle the minds of those princes in the alliance, who are alarmed at the consequences of this turn of affairs occasioned by the *Emperor's* death? We are assured it never will. Do we then imagine that those princes who dread the overgrown power of the *austrian* as much as that of the *bourbon* family, will continue in our alliance upon a system contrary to that which they engaged with us upon? For instance: what can the duke of *Savoy* expect in such a case? Will he have any choice left him but that of being a slave and a frontier to *France*; or a *vassal* in the utmost extent of the word, to the imperial court? Will he not therefore of the two evils chuse the least; by submitting to a master who hath no immediate claim upon him, and to whose family he is nearly allied; rather than to another who hath already revived several claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

Nor are the *Dutch* more inclined than the rest of *Europe*, that the *Empire* and *Spain* should be united in king *Charles*, whatever they may now pretend. On the contrary, it is known to several persons, that upon the death of the late emperor *Joseph*, the States resolved that those two powers should not be joined in the same person; and this they determined as a fundamental maxim by which they intended to proceed. So that *Spain* was first given up by them; and since they maintain no troops in that kingdom, it should seem that they understand the duke of *Anjou* to be lawful monarch.

Thirdly, Those who are against any peace without *Spain*, if they be such as no way find their private account by the war, may perhaps

perhaps change their sentiments if they will reflect a little upon our present condition.

I had two reasons for not sooner publishing this discourse; the first was, because I would give way to others, who might argue very well upon the same subject from general topicks and reason, although they might be ignorant of several facts which I had the opportunity to know. The second was, because I found it would be necessary in the course of this argument, to say something of the state to which the war hath reduced us; at the same time I knew, that such a discovery ought to be made as late as possible, and at another juncture would not only be very indiscreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

It is the folly of too many to mistake the echo of a *London* coffee-house for the voice of the kingdom. The city coffee-houses have been for some years filled with people whose fortunes depend upon the *bank*, *east-india*, or some other stock. Every new fund to these is like a new mortgage to an usurer, whose compassion for a young heir is exactly the same with that of a stock-jobber to the landed gentry. At the court end of the town the like places of resort are frequented either by men out of place, and consequently enemies to the present ministry, or by officers of the army: no wonder then if the general cry in all such meetings be against any peace either *with* Spain or *without*; which in other words is no more than this; that discontented men desire another change of the ministry; that soldiers would be glad to keep their commissions; and that the creditors have money still, and would have the debtors borrow on at the old extorting rate while they have any security to give.

Now to give the most ignorant reader some idea of our present circumstances, without troubling him or myself with computations in form; every body knows that our land and malt tax amount annually to about two millions and an half. All other branches of the revenue are mortgaged to pay interest for what

we have already borrowed. The yearly charge of the war is usually about six millions; to make up which sum we are forced to take up on the credit of new funds about three millions and an half. This last year the computed charge of the war came to above a million more than all the funds the parliament could contrive were sufficient to pay interest for; and so we have been forced to divide a deficiency of twelve hundred thousand pounds among the several branches of our expence. This is a demonstration that if the war be to last another campaign, it will be impossible to find funds for supplying it without mortgaging the malt tax, or taking some other method equally desperate.

If the peace be made this winter we are then to consider what circumstances we shall be in towards paying a debt of about fifty millions, which is a sixth part of the purchase of the whole island if it were to be sold.

Towards clearing ourselves of this monstrous incumbrance some of these annuities will expire, or pay off the principal in thirty, forty, or an hundred years; the bulk of the debt must be lessened gradually by the best management we can, out of what will remain of the land and malt-taxes, after paying guards and garisons, and maintaining and supplying our fleet in the time of peace. I have not skill enough to compute what will be left after these necessary charges towards annually clearing so vast a debt; but believe it must be very little: however, it is plain that both these taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the government as because we have no other means for paying off the principal. And so likewise must all the other funds remain for paying the interest. How long a time this must require, how steady an administration, and how undisturbed a state of affairs both at home and abroad let others determine.

However some people think all this very reasonable; and that since the struggle hath been for peace and safety, posterity, which is to partake the benefit, ought to share in the expence: as if at the

the breaking out of this war there had been such a conjuncture of affairs as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful that our ancestors in all their wars should never fall under such a necessity; that we meet no examples of it in *Greece* and *Rome*; that no other nation in *Europe* ever knew any thing like it, except *Spain* about an hundred and twenty years ago, when they drew it upon themselves by their own folly, and have suffered for it ever since; no doubt we shall teach posterity wisdom, but they will be apt to think the purchase too dear, and I wish they may stand to the bargain we have made in their names.

It is easy to entail debts on succeeding ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them; but how to ensure peace for any term of years is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human nature ever cease to have the same passions, princes to entertain designs of interest or ambition, and occasions of quarrel to arise? May not we our selves, by the variety of events and incidents which happen in the world, be under a necessity of recovering towns out of the very hands of those for whom we are now ruining our country to take them? Neither can it be said, that those *states*, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a condition as ourselves; for by the circumstances of our situation, and the impositions of our allies, we are more exhausted than either they or the enemy; and by the nature of our government, the corruption of our manners, and the opposition of factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

It will no doubt be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren, when they see a few rags hung up in *Westminster-hall*, which cost an hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, to boast as beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great.

I have often reflected on that mistaken notion of credit, so boasted of by the advocates of the late ministry: was not all that credit built upon funds raised by the landed men, whom they now so much hate and despise? Is not the greatest part of those funds

raised from the growth and product of land? must not the whole debt be entirely paid, and our fleets and garisons be maintained, by the land and malt tax after a peace? If they call it credit to run ten millions in debt without parliamentary security, by which the publick is defrauded of almost half; I must think such credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither hath any thing gone further to ruin the nation than their boasted credit. For my own part, when I saw this false credit sink, upon the change of the ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good omen. It seemed as if the young extravagant heir had got a new steward, and was resolved to look into his estate before things grew desperate, which made the usurers forbear feeding him with money, as they used to do.

Since the monied men are so fond of war, I should be glad they would furnish out one campaign at their own charge: it is not above six or seven millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the landed men, they will have their full principal and interest at six *per cent.* remaining of all the money they ever lent to the government.

Without this resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the war upon the same foot. I have already observed, that the last funds of interest fell short above a million, although the persons most conversant in ways and means employed their utmost invention; so that of necessity we must be still more defective next campaign. But perhaps our allies will make up this deficiency on our side by greater efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the *Emperor* and *Holland* failed this year in several articles; and signified to us some time ago, that they cannot keep up to the same proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire. The *Emperor*, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with *Naples*,
Sicily,

Sicily, Milan, and his other acquisitions, rather than engage in a long hopeless war, for the recovery of *Spain*, to which his allies the *Dutch* will neither give their assistance, nor consent. So that since we have done their business, since they have no further service for our arms, and we have no more money to give them; and lastly, since we neither desire any recompence, nor expect any thanks, we ought in pity to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and so are we to recover, if possible, the effects of their hardships upon us. The first overtures from *France* are made to *England* upon safe and honourable terms; we who bore the burthen of the war, ought in reason to have the greatest share in making the peace. If we do not hearken to a peace others certainly will, and get the advantage of us there, as they have done in the war. We know the *Dutch* have perpetually threatened us, that they would enter into separate measures of a peace; and by the strength of that argument, as well as by *other powerful motives*, prevailed on those who were then at the helm, to comply with them on any terms, rather than put an end to a war, which every year brought them such great accessions to their wealth and power. Whoever falls off, a peace will follow; and then we must be content with such conditions as our allies, out of their great concern for our safety and interest, will please to chuse. They have no further occasion for fighting, they have gained their point, and they now tell us it is *our war*; so that in common justice it ought to be *our peace*.

All we can propose by the desperate steps of pawning our land or malt tax, or erecting a general excise, is only to raise a fund of interest for running us annually four millions further in debt, without any prospect of ending the war so well as we can do at present. And when we have sunk the only unengaged revenues we had left, our incumbrances must of necessity remain perpetual.

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We have hitherto lived upon expedients which in time will certainly destroy any constitution, whether civil or natural; and there was no country in *christendom* had less occasion for them than ours. We have dieted a healthy body into a consumption, by plying it with physick instead of food. Art will help us no longer, and if we cannot recover by letting the remains of nature work, we must inevitably die.

What arts have been used to possess the people with a strong delusion, that *Britain* must infallibly be ruined, without the recovery of *Spain* to the house of *Austria*? Making the safety of a great and powerful kingdom as ours was then to depend upon an event, which even after a war of miraculous successes proves impracticable. As if princes and great ministers could find no way of settling the publick tranquillity without changing the possessions of kingdoms, and forcing sovereigns upon a people against their inclinations. Is there no security for the island of *Britain*, unless a king of *Spain* be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather? Has the enemy no cautionary towns and sea-ports to give us for securing trade? Can he not deliver us possession of such places as would put him in a worse condition, whenever he should perfidiously renew the war? The present king of *France* has but few years to live by the course of nature, and doubtless would desire to end his days in peace. Grandfathers in private families are not observed to have great influence on their grandsons; and I believe they have much less among princes; however, when the authority of a parent is gone is it likely that *Philip* will be directed by a brother against his own interest, and that of his subjects? Have not those two realms their separate maxims of policy, which must operate in times of peace? These at least are probabilities, and cheaper by six millions a year than recovering *Spain*, or continuing the war, both which seem absolutely impossible.

But the common question is, if we must now surrender *Spain*, what have we been fighting for all this while? The answer is ready:

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we have been fighting for the ruin of the publick interest, and the advancement of a private. We have been fighting to raise the wealth and grandeur of a particular family; to enrich usurers and stock-jobbers, and to cultivate the pernicious designs of a faction by destroying the landed interest. The nation begins now to think these *blessings* are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a peace.

But the advocates on the other side cry out, that we might have had a better peace, than is now in agitation, above two years ago. Supposing this to be true I do assert, that by parity of reason, we must expect one just so much the worse about two years hence. If those in power could then have given us a better peace, more is their infamy and guilt, that they did it not. Why did they insist upon conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow, it was in their power to have put a good end to the war, and left the nation in some hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with as answerable to God, their country, and posterity; that the bleeding condition of their fellow-subjects was a feather in the balance with their private ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy debts and poverty of the nation, it is pleasant to hear some men answer all that can be said, by crying up the power of *England*, the courage of *England*, the inexhaustible riches of *England*. I have heard a * man very sanguine upon this subject, with a good employment for life, and a hundred thousand pounds in the funds, bidding us *take courage*, and *warranting*, *that all would go well*. This is the style of men at ease, *who lay heavy burthens upon others, which they would not touch with one of their fingers*. I have known some people such ill computers, as to imagine the many millions in stocks and annuities are so much real wealth in the nation; whereas every farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in *Holland*, *Germany*, and *Spain*; and the landed men, who now pay the interest, must at last pay the principal.

* The late lord *Halifax*.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, those who are against any peace without *Spain*, have, I doubt, been ill informed as to the low condition of *France*, and the mighty consequences of our successes. As to the first it must be confessed, that after the battle of *Ramillies* the *French* were so discouraged with their frequent losses, and so impatient for a peace, that their king was resolved to comply upon any reasonable terms. But when his subjects were informed of our exorbitant demands, they grew jealous of his honour, and were unanimous to assist him in continuing the war at any hazard, rather than submit. This fully restored his authority; and the supplies he hath received from the *Spanish West-Indies*, which in all are computed since the war to amount to four hundred millions of livres, and all in *specie*, have enabled him to pay his troops. Besides, the money is spent in his own country; and he hath since waged war in the most thrifty manner by acting on the defensive; compounding with us every campaign for a town, which costs us fifty times more than it's worth, either as to the value, or the consequences. Then he is at no charge for a fleet, further than providing privateers, wherewith his subjects carry on a pyraty war at their own expence, and he shares in the profit; which hath been very considerable to *France*, and of infinite disadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual losses we have suffered, to an immense value, but by the general discouragement of trade, on which we so much depend. All this considered, with the circumstances of that government, where the prince is master of the lives and fortunes of so mighty a kingdom, shews that monarch not to be so sunk in his affairs as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourselves with the hopes of.

Those who are against any peace without *Spain*, seem likewise to have been mistaken in judging our victories, and other successes, to have been of greater consequence than they really were.

When our armies take a town in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* are immediately put into possession, and we at home make bonfires. I have sometimes pitied the deluded people to see them squandering away

away their fewel to so little purpose. For example: what is it to us that *Bouchain* is taken, about which the warlike politicians of the coffee-house make such a clutter? What though the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and in sight of the enemy? We are not now in a condition to be fed with points of honour. What advantage have we, but that of spending three or four millions more to get another town for the *States*, which may open them a new country for *contributions*, and increase the perquisites of the general?

In that war of ten years under the late king, when our commanders and soldiers were raw and unexperienced, in comparison of what they are at present, we lost battles and towns, as well as we gained them of late, since those gentlemen have better learned their trade; yet we bore up then, as the *French* do now: nor was there any thing decisive in their successes; they grew weary as well as we, and at last consented to a peace, under which we might have been happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wise *treaty of partition*, which revived the flame that hath lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern way of making war, but that the side, which can hold out longest, will end it with most advantage. In such a close country as *Flanders*, where it is carried on by sieges, the army that acts offensively is at a much greater expence of men and money; and there is hardly a town taken, in the common forms, where the besiegers have not the worse of the bargain. I never yet knew a soldier, who would not affirm, that any town might be taken, if you were content to be at the charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much blood and treasure, the rest is all a regular, established method, which cannot fail. When the king of *France* in the times of his grandeur sat down before a town, his generals and engineers would often fix the day when it should surrender: the enemy, sensible of all this, hath for some years past avoided a battle, where he hath so ill succeeded, and taken a surer way to consume us by

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letting

letting our courage evaporate against stones and rubbish, and sacrificing a single town to a campaign, which he can so much better afford to lose, than we to take.

Lastly, those who are so violently against *any peace* without *Spain* being restored to the house of *Austria*, have not I believe cast their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a storm upon our heads.

The northern war hath been on foot almost ever since our breach with *France*. The success of it is various; but one effect to be apprehended was always the same, that sooner or later it would involve us in its consequences; and that whenever this happened, let our success be never so great against *France*, from that moment *France* would have the advantage.

By our guarantee of the treaty of *Travendall* we were obliged to hinder the king of *Denmark* from engaging in a war with *Sweden*. It was at that time understood by all parties, and so declared, even by the *British* ministers, that this engagement specially regarded *Denmark's* not assisting king *Augustus*. But however, if this had not been so, yet our obligation to *Sweden* stood in force by virtue of former treaties with that crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one concluded at the *Hague* by Sir *Joseph Williamson* and monsieur *Lilienroot* about the latter end of the king's reign.

However, the war in the north proceeded; and our not assisting *Sweden* was at least as well excused by the war which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his contingent to the empire, whereof he is a member, was excused by the pressures he lay under, having a confederacy to deal with.

In this war the king of *Sweden* was victorious; and what dangers were we not then exposed to? what fears were we not in? He marched into *Saxony*, and if he had really been in the *French* interest, might at once have put us under the greatest difficulties. But the torrent turned another way, and he contented himself with
imposing

imposing on his enemy the treaty of *Alt Rastadt*; by which king *Augustus* makes an absolute cession of the crown of *Poland*, renounces any title to it, acknowledges *Stanislaus*; and then both he and the king of *Sweden* join in desiring the guarantee of *England* and *Holland*. The QUEEN did not indeed give this guarantee in form; but as a step towards it, the title of *king* was given to *Stanislaus* by a letter from her majesty; and the strongest assurances were given to the *swedish* minister, in her majesty's name, and in a committee of council, that the guarantee should speedily be granted; and that in the mean while it was the same thing as if the forms were passed.

In 1708 king *Augustus* made the campaign in *Flanders*: what measures he might at that time take, or of what nature the arguments might be that he made use of, is not known: but immediately after he breaks through all he had done, marches into *Poland*, and reassumes the crown.

After this we apprehended, that the peace of the empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an act of guarantee for the neutrality of it. The king of *Sweden* refused upon several accounts to submit to the terms of this treaty; particularly because we went out of the empire to cover *Poland* and *Jutland*, but did not go out of it to cover the territories of *Sweden*.

Let us therefore consider what is our case at present. If the king of *Sweden* return and get the better, he will think himself under no obligation of having any regard to the interests of the allies; but will naturally pursue, according to his own expression, *his enemy wherever he finds him*. In this case the *corps* of the neutrality is obliged to oppose him; and so we are engaged in a second war, before the first be ended.

If the northern confederates succeed against *Sweden*, how shall we be able to preserve the balance of power in the north, so essential to our trade as well as in many other respects? What will become of that great support of the *protestant interest* in *Germany*,

which is the footing that the *Swedes* now have in the empire? Or who shall answer, that these princes, after they have settled the north to their minds, may not take a fancy to look southward, and make our peace with *France* according to their own schemes?

And lastly, if the king of *Prussia*, the elector of *Hanover*, and other princes, whose dominions lie contiguous, be forced to draw from those armies which act against *France*, we must live in hourly expectation of having those troops recalled, which they now leave with us; and this recal may happen in the midst of a siege, or on the eve of a battle. Is it therefore our interest to toil on in a ruinous war for an impracticable end, till one of these cases shall happen, or to get under shelter before the storm?

There is no doubt but the present ministry (provided they could get over the obligations of honour and conscience) might find their advantage in advising the continuance of the war, as well as the last did, although not in the same degree after the kingdom hath been so much exhausted. They might prolong it, till the parliament desire a peace; and in the mean time leave them in full possession of power. Therefore it is plain, that their proceedings at present are meant to serve their country directly against their private interest; whatever clamour may be raised by those, who for the vilest ends would remove heaven and earth to oppose their measures. But they think it infinitely better to accept such terms as will secure our trade, find a sufficient barrier for the *States*, give *reasonable satisfaction* to the Emperor, and restore the tranquillity of *Europe*, although without adding *Spain* to the empire; rather than go on in a languishing way, upon the vain expectation of some improbable turn for the recovery of that monarchy out of the *Bourbon* family; and at last be forced to a worse peace, by some of the allies falling off upon our utter inability to continue the war.

SOME

SOME
REMARKS
ON THE
BARRIER TREATY
BETWEEN
HER MAJESTY
AND THE
STATES-GENERAL.

To which are added,

The said BARRIER TREATY, with the two separate ARTICLES ; part of the Counter-project ; the Sentiments of prince EUGENE and count SINZENDORF upon the said treaty ; and a Representation of the *english* merchants at *Bruges*.

Written in the Year 1712.

P R E F A C E

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE READER

ON THE

REMARKS

ON THE

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P R E F A C E.

WHEN I published the discourse called, *The Conduct of the Allies*, I had thoughts either of inserting or annexing the *Barrier Treaty* at length, with such observations as I conceived might be useful for publick information: but that discourse taking up more room than I designed, after my utmost endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few reflections upon that *famous treaty*, sufficient as I thought to answer the design of my book. I have since heard, that my readers in general seemed to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an impatience to have that treaty made publick, especially since it hath been laid before the *House of Commons*.

That I may give some light to the reader, who is not well versed in those affairs, he may please to know that a project for a treaty of *barrier* with the *States* was transmitted hither from *Holland*; but being disapproved of by our court in several parts, a new project or scheme of a treaty was drawn up here with many additions and alterations. This last was called the *counter-project*; and was the measure, whereby the duke of *Marlborough* and my lord *Townshend* were commanded and instructed to proceed in negotiating a *treaty of barrier* with the *States*.

I have added a translation of this *counter-project* in those articles where it differs from the *barrier treaty*, that the reader by comparing them together may judge how punctually those negotiators observed their instructions. I have likewise subjoined the sentiments of prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and the count *De Sinzendorf*, relating to this treaty, written (I suppose) while it was negotiating. And lastly, I have added a copy of the representation of the *british* merchants at *Bruges*, signifying what inconveniencies they already felt and further apprehended from this *barrier treaty*.

S O M E

SOME
REMARKS
ON THE
BARRIER TREATY, *etc.*

IMAGINE a reasonable person in *China* reading the following treaty, and one who was ignorant of our affairs, or our geography: he would conceive their high mightinesses the *States-general* to be some vast powerful commonwealth, like that of *Rome*; and HER MAJESTY to be a petty prince, like one of those to whom that republick would sometimes send a diadem for a present, when they behaved themselves well, otherwise could depose at pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in his stead. Such a man would think, that the *States* had taken our prince and us into their *protection*; and in return honoured us so far, as to make use of our troops as some small assistance in their conquests, and the enlargement of their empire, or to prevent the incursions of *Barbarians* upon some of their out-lying provinces. But how must it sound in an *european* ear, that *Great Britain*, after maintaining a war for so many years, with so much glory and success, and such prodigious expence, after saving the *Empire*, *Holland*, and *Portugal*, and almost recovering *Spain*, should, towards the close of a war, enter into a treaty with seven *dutch* provinces to secure to them a dominion larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept, as an equivalent, the mean condition of those *States* assisting to preserve her
QUEEN

QUEEN on the throne, whom by God's assistance she is able to defend against all her majesty's *enemies* and *allies* put together?

Such a wild bargain could never have been made for us, if the *States* had not found it their interest to use very powerful motives with the chief advisers, (I say nothing of the person immediately employed;) and if a party here at home had not been resolved, for ends and purposes very well known, to continue the war as long as they had any occasion for it.

The *counter project* of this treaty made here at *London* was bad enough in all conscience: I have said something of it in the *preface*; her majesty's ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project, which would have been of consequence to *Britain*, and one or two more where the advantages of the *States* were not so very exorbitant, and where some care was taken of the house of *Austria*. Is it possible, that *our good allies and friends* could not be brought to any terms with us, unless by striking out every particular that might do us any good, and adding still more to those whereby so much was already granted? For instance, the article about demolishing of *Dunkirk* surely might have remained; which was of some benefit to the *States*, as well as of mighty advantage to us; and which the *french* king hath lately yielded in one of his preliminaries, although clogged with the demand of an equivalent, which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

But let me now consider the treaty itself: among the one and twenty articles, of which it consists, only two have any relation to us, importing that the *Dutch* are to be guarantees of our succession, and are not to enter into any treaty until the QUEEN is acknowledged by *France*. We know very well, that it is in consequence the interest of the *States*, as much as ours, that *Britain* should be governed by a *protestant* prince. Besides, what is there more in this guarantee, than in all common leagues offensive and defensive between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the

the other against any invader with all their strength? Such was the grand alliance between the *Emperor*, *Britain*, and *Holland*; which was, or ought to have been, as good a guarantee of our succession to all intents and purposes, as this in the *barrier treaty*, and the mutual engagements in such alliances have been always reckoned sufficient without any separate benefit to either party.

It is, no doubt, for the interest of *Britain*, that the *States* should have a sufficient barrier against *France*; but their high mightinesses for some few years past, have put a different meaning upon the word *barrier*, from what it formerly used to bear when applied to them. When the late king was prince of *Orange*, and commanded their armies against *France*, it was never once imagined, that any of the towns taken should belong to the *Dutch*; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch; and *Flanders* was only a *barrier* to *Holland*, as it was in the hands of *Spain*, rather than *France*. So in the grand alliance of 1701 the several powers promising to endeavour to recover *Flanders* for a barrier was understood to be the recovering those provinces to the king of *Spain*; but in this treaty the style is wholly changed: here are about twenty towns and forts of great importance, with their chattelanies and dependencies (which dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible) and the whole revenues of them to be under the perpetual military government of the *Dutch*, by which that republick will be entirely masters of the richest part of all *Flanders*; and upon any appearance of war they may put their garisons into any other place of the *Low-countries*; and farther, the king of *Spain* is to give them a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year to enable them to maintain those garisons.

Why should we wonder that the *Dutch* are inclined to perpetuate the war, when by an article in this treaty the king of *Spain* is *not to possess one single town in the Low-countries, until a peace be made*. The duke of *Anjou*, at the beginning of this war, maintained

tained six and thirty thousand men out of those *spanish* provinces he then possessed: to which if we add the many towns since taken, which were not in the late king of *Spain's* possession at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies; it is visible what forces the *States* may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

The towns and chatellanies of this barrier always maintained their garisons, when they were in the hands of *France*; and, as it is reported, returned a considerable sum of money into the king's coffers; yet the king of *Spain* is obliged by this treaty (as we have already observed) to add over and above a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year. We know likewise, that a great part of the revenue of the *spanish Netherlands* is already pawned to the *States*; so that after a peace nothing will be left to the sovereign, nor will the people be much eased of the taxes they at present labour under.

Thus the *States* by virtue of this *barrier treaty* will in effect be absolute sovereigns of all *Flanders*, and of the whole revenues in the utmost extent.

And here I cannot without some contempt take notice of a sort of reasoning offered by several people; that the many towns we have taken for the *Dutch* are of no advantage, because the whole revenues of those towns are spent in maintaining them. For first, the fact is manifestly false, particularly as to *Lisle* and some others. Secondly, the *States* after a peace are to have four hundred thousand crowns a year out of the remainder of *Flanders*, which is then to be left to *Spain*. And lastly, suppose all these acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treasury, what can be of greater consequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conquests, which before they always did by taxing their natural subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to king *Charles III.* that while we pretend to endeavour restoring him to the entire mo-

narchy of *Spain*, we join at the same time with the *Dutch* to deprive him of his natural right to the *Low-countries*?

But suppose by a *dutch* barrier must now be understood only what is to be in possession of the *States*; yet, even under this acceptation of the word nothing was originally meant except a *barrier* against *France*; whereas several towns demanded by the *Dutch* in this treaty can be of no use at all in such a *barrier*. And this is the sentiment even of prince *Eugene* himself (the present oracle and idol of the party here) who says, *that Dendermond, Ostend, and the castle of Gand, do in no sort belong to the barrier; nor can be of other use, than to make the States-general masters of the Low-countries, and hinder their trade with England. And further: that those who are acquainted with the country know very well, that to fortify Lier and Halle can give no security to the States as a barrier, but only raise a jealousy in the people, that those places are only fortified in order to block up Brussels, and the other great towns of Brabant.*

In those towns of *Flanders* where the *Dutch* are to have garrisons, but the ecclesiastical and civil power to remain to the king of *Spain* after a peace, the *States* have power to send arms, ammunition, and victuals, without paying customs; under which pretence they will engross the whole trade of those towns, exclusive of all other nations.

This prince *Eugene* likewise foresaw; and in his observations upon this treaty, here annexed, proposed a remedy for it.

And if the *Dutch* shall please to think, that the whole *spanish Netherlands* are not a sufficient *barrier* for them, I know no remedy from the words of this treaty, but that we must still go on and conquer for them as long as they please. For the *QUEEN* is obliged, whenever a peace is treated, to procure for them *whatever shall be thought necessary* besides; and where their necessity will terminate is not very easy to foresee.

Could any of her majesty's subjects conceive, that in those very
towns.

towns we have taken for the *Dutch*, and given into their possession as a *barrier*, either the *States* should demand, or our *ministers* allow, that the subjects of *Britain* should in respect to their trade be used worse, than they were under the late king of *Spain*? yet this is the fact, as monstrous as it appears: all goods going to or coming from *Newport* or *Ostend* are to pay the same duties, as those that pass by the *Scheld* under the *Dutch* forts: and this in effect is to shut out all other nations from trading to *Flanders*. The *english* merchants at *Bruges* complain, that *after they have paid the king of Spain's duty for goods imported at Ostend, the same goods are made liable to further duties, when they are carried from thence into the towns of the Dutch new conquests*; and desire only the same privileges of trade they had before the death of the late king of *Spain*, *Charles II.* And in consequence of this treaty, the *Dutch* have already taken off eight *per cent.* from all goods they send to the *spanish Flanders*, but left it still upon us.

But what is very surprizing, in the very same article, where *our good friends and allies* are wholly shutting us out from trading in those towns we have conquered for them with so much blood and treasure, the *QUEEN* is obliged to procure, that the *States* shall be used as favourably in their trade over all the king of *Spain's* dominions, as her own subjects, or *as the people most favoured.* This I humbly conceive to be perfect boys play; *cross I win, and pile * you lose*; or *what's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own.* Now if it should happen, that in a treaty of peace some ports or towns should be yielded us for the security of our trade, in any part of the *spanish* dominions at how great a distance soever, I suppose the *Dutch* would go on with their *boys play*, and *challenge half* by virtue of that article: or would they be content with the military government and the revenues, and reckon them among *what shall be thought necessary* for their barrier?

* The two sides of our coin were once distinguished by *cross* and *pile* as they are now by *heads* and *tails*.

This

This prodigious article is introduced as subsequent to the treaty of *Munster* made about the year 1648, at a time when *England* was in the utmost confusion and very much to our disadvantage. Those parts in that treaty, so unjust in themselves and so prejudicial to our trade, ought in reason to have been remitted rather than confirmed upon us for the time to come. But this is *dutch* partnership; to share in all our *beneficial bargains*, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

In one part of *The conduct of the allies*, etc. among other remarks upon this treaty I make it a question, whether it were right in point of policy or prudence to call in a foreign power to be a guarantee to our succession; because, by that means *we put it out of the power of our legislature to alter the succession, how much soever the necessity of the kingdom may require it?* * To comply with the cautions of some people, I explained *my meaning in the following editions*. I was assured, that my Lord Chief Justice affirmed, that passage was treason. One of my answerers, I think, decides as favourably; and I am told, that paragraph was read very lately during a debate with a comment in very injurious terms, which perhaps might have been spared. That the legislature should have power to change the succession, whenever the necessities of the kingdom require, is so very useful towards preserving our religion and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of this opinion is, that at first sight it appears to be *whiggish*; but the distinction is thus: the *whigs* are for changing the succession when they think fit, although the entire legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great necessity, and that with the sanction of the whole legislature. Do these gentlemen of revolution principles think it impossible, that we should ever have occasion again to change our succession? And if such an accident should fall out, must we have no remedy until the seven provinces will give their consent? Suppose that this virulent party among us

* Pag. 71.

were

were as able, as some are willing to raise a rebellion for re-instating them in power, and would apply themselves to the *Dutch* as guarantees of our succession to assist them with all their force, under pretence that the QUEEN and ministry, a great majority of both houses, and the bulk of the people were for bringing over *France*, popery and the pretender? Their *high mightinesses* would, as I take it, be sole judges of the controversy, and probably decide it so well, that in some time we might have the happiness of becoming a province to *Holland*. I am humbly of opinion, that there are two qualities necessary to a reader before his judgment should be allowed; these are, common honesty, and common sense; and that no man could have misrepresented that paragraph in my discourse, unless he were utterly destitute of one, or both.

The presumptive successor, and her immediate heirs, have so established a reputation in the world for their piety, wisdom, and humanity, that no necessity of this kind is like to appear in their days; but I must still insist, that it is a diminution to the independency of the imperial crown of *Great Britain*, to call at every door for help to put our laws in execution. And we ought to consider, that if in ages to come such a prince should happen to be in succession to our throne, who should be entirely unable to govern; that very motive might incline our guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confusion and disorder.

But to return: the QUEEN is here put under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee of the whole barrier treaty; of the *Dutch* having possession of the said barrier, and the revenues thereof before a peace; of the payment of four hundred thousand crowns by the king of *Spain*; that the *States* shall possess their barrier, even before king *Charles* is in possession of the *spanish Netherlands*; although by the fifth article of the grand alliance her majesty is under no obligation to do any thing of this nature, except in a general treaty.

All

All kings, princes and states are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, though very frequent in treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the barrier. Popish princes are here invited among others to become guarantees of our protestant succession; every petty prince in *Germany* must be intreated to preserve the *QUEEN of Great Britain* upon her throne. The king of *Spain* is invited particularly, and by name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty, by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles and recover his dominions, strip him in effect of all his ten provinces; a clear reason why they never sent any forces to *Spain*, and why the obligation, not to enter into a treaty of peace with *France* until that entire monarchy was yielded as a preliminary, was struck out of the counter project by the *Dutch*. They fought only in *Flanders*, because there they only fought for themselves. King *Charles* must needs accept this invitation very kindly, and stand by with great satisfaction, while the *belgick* lion divides the prey, and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a parcel of soldiers, who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then made him wait at table, while they devoured his victuals without giving him a morsel; and upon his expostulating had only for answer, Why firrah, are we not come here to protect you? And thus much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes to lend their assistance and become guarantees out of pure good nature for securing *Flanders* to the *Dutch*.

In the treaty of *Ryswick* no care was taken to oblige the *french* king to acknowledge the right of succession in her present majesty; for want of which point being then settled *France* refused to acknowledge her for *QUEEN of Great Britain* after the late king's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an omission *, and care is taken to supply it in the next general treaty of peace. I mention this occasionally, because I

* Article XX.

have

have some stubborn doubts within me, whether it were a wilful omission or no. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the memory of his late majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any imputation upon this matter. But when I recollect the behaviour, the language, and the principles of some certain persons in those days, and compare them with that omission; I am tempted to draw some conclusions, which a certain party would be more ready to call false and malicious, than to prove them so.

I must here take leave (because it will not otherwise fall in my way) to say a few words in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who hath done me the honour to write three discourses against that treatise of *The conduct of the allies*, etc. and promises for my comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity answerers with all my heart, for the many disadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of mischief (as he calls it) before his first part could possibly come out; and so went on through the kingdom, while his limped slowly after; and if it arrived at all, it was too late; for people's opinions were already fixed. His manner of answering me is thus: of those facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate, and the rest he distorts with such unnatural turns, that I would engage by the same method to disprove any history either ancient or modern. Then the whole is interlarded with a thousand injurious epithets and appellations, which heavy writers are forced to make use of, as a supply for that want of spirit and genius they are not born to: yet after all he allows a very great point, for which I contend, confessing in plain words, that the burthen of the war hath chiefly lain upon us; and thinks it sufficient for the *Dutch*, that next to *England* they have born the greatest share. And is not this the great grievance of which the whole kingdom complains? I am inclined to think, that my intelligence was at least as good as his; and some of it, I can assure him, came from persons of his own party, although perhaps not altogether so inflamed.

R

flamed. Hitherto therefore the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him or me as they please. But I think the great point of controversy between us is, whether the effects and consequences of things follow better from his premisses or mine? And there I will not be satisfied, unless he will allow the whole advantage to be on my side. Here is a flourishing kingdom brought to the brink of ruin by a most successful and glorious war of ten years, under an able, diligent and loyal ministry, a most faithful, just and generous commander, and in conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable and sincere allies. This is the case, as that author represents it. I have heard a story, I think it was of the duke of **, who playing at hazard at the *groom-porters* in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold; but in the heat of play never observed a sharper who came once or twice under his arm, and swept a great deal of it into his hat; the company thought it had been one of his servants. When the duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. Yes, said he, I held in very long; yet methinks I have won but very little. They told him his SERVANT had got the rest in his hat; and then he found he was cheated.

It hath been my good fortune to see the most important facts that I have advanced justified by the publick voice; which, let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe, that I may be right in the rest. And I solemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the least mistake. I stopt the second edition, and made all possible enquiries among those who I thought could best inform me, in order to correct any error I could hear of; I did the same to the third and fourth editions, and then left the printer to his liberty. This I take for a more effectual answer to all cavils, than an hundred pages of controversy.

But what disgusts me from having any thing to do with this race of answer-jobbers, is, that they have no sort of conscience in their dealings: to give one instance in this gentleman's third part, which

which I have been lately looking into. When I talk of the most petty princes, he says that I mean crowned heads; when I say the soldiers of those petty princes are ready to rob or starve at home, he says I call kings and crowned heads robbers and highwaymen. This is what the *whigs* call answering a book.

I cannot omit one particular concerning this author, who is so positive in asserting his own facts and contradicting mine; he affirms, that the business of *Thoulon* was discovered by the clerk of a certain great man, who was then secretary of state. It is neither wise nor for the credit of his party to put us in mind of that secretary, or of that clerk; however, so it happens, that nothing relating to the affair of *Thoulon* did ever pass through that secretary's office: which I here affirm with great phlegm, leaving the epithets of false, scandalous, villainous, and the rest, to the author and his fellows.

But to leave this author; let us consider the consequence of our triumphs, upon which some set so great a value as to think, that nothing less than the crown can be a sufficient reward for the merit of the *general*. We have not enlarged our dominions by one foot of land: our trade, which made us considerable in the world, is either given up by treaties, or clogged with duties, which interrupt and daily lessen it. We see the whole nation groaning under excessive taxes of all sorts to raise three millions of money for payment of the interest of those debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the reverse of the medal; we shall see our neighbours, who in their utmost distress called for our assistance, become by this treaty even in time of peace masters of a more considerable country than their own; in a condition to strike terror into us, with fifty thousand *veterans* ready to invade us from that country, which we have conquered for them; and to commit insolent hostilities upon us in all other parts, as they have lately done in the *East-Indies*.

THE BARRIER TREATY BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE STATES-GENERAL.

HER majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain and the lords the States-general of the united provinces, having considered how much it concerns the quiet and security of their kingdoms and states, and the publick tranquillity, to maintain and to secure on one side, the succession to the crown of Great Britain in such manner as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom; and on the other side, that the States-general of the united provinces should have a strong and sufficient barrier against France and others who would surprize or attack them: and her majesty and the said States-general apprehending with just reason the troubles and the mischiefs which may happen in relation to this succession, if at any time there should be any person, or any power, who should call it in question; and that the countries and states of the said lords the States-general were not furnished with such a barrier. For these said reasons her said majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain, although in the vigour of her age, and enjoying perfect health (in which may God preserve her many years) out of an effect of her usual prudence and piety, has thought fit to enter with the lords the States-general of the united provinces into a particular alliance and confederacy; the principal end and only aim of which shall be the publick quiet and tranquillity; and to prevent, by measures taken in time, all the events which might one day excite new war. It is with this view, that her british majesty has given her full power to agree upon some articles of a treaty, in addition to the treaties and alliances that she hath already with the lords the States-general of the united provinces, to her ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Charles viscount Townshend, baron of Lyne-Regis, privy counsellor to her british majesty, captain of her said majesty's yeomen of the guard, and her lieutenant in the county of Norfolk; and the lords the States-general of the united provinces, the sieurs John de Welderen lord of Valburgh, great bailiff

bailiff of the Lower Betewe, of the body of the nobility of the province of Guelder; Frederick baron of Reede lord of Lier, St. Anthony, and T'er Lee, of the order of the nobility of the province of Holland and West-Friezeland; Anthony Heinsius, counsellor-pensionary of the province of Holland and West-Friezeland, keeper of the great-seal, and super-intendant of the fiefs of the same province; Cornelius Van Gheet, lord of Spranbrook, Bulkesteijn, etc. Gedeon Hoeuft, canon of the chapter of the church of St. Peter at Utrecht, and elected counsellor in the states of the province of Utrecht; Hassel Van Sminia, secretary of the chamber of the accounts of the province of Friezeland; Ernest Ittersum, lord of Osterbof, of the body of the nobility of the province of Overijssel; and Wicher Wichers, senator of the city of Groningen; all deputies to the assembly of the said lords the States-general on the one part, respectively of the provinces of Guelder, Holland, West-Friezeland, Zeland, Utrecht, Friezeland, Overijssel, and Groningen, and Ommelands, who by virtue of their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

THE treaties of peace, friendship, alliance, and confederacy between her *britannick* majesty and the *States-general* of the united provinces shall be approved and confirmed by the present treaty, and shall remain in their former force and vigour as if they were inserted word for word.

ARTICLE II.

The succession to the crown of *England* having been settled by an act of parliament, passed the twelfth year of the reign of his late majesty king *William III.* the title of which is, *An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject*; and lately, in the sixth year of the reign of her

her present majesty, this succession having been again established and confirmed by another act made for the greater security of her majesty's person and government, and the succession to the crown of *Great Britain, etc.* in the line of the most serene house of *Hanover*, and in the person of the princess *Sophia*, and of her heirs, successors, and descendants, male and female, already born or to be born: and although no power hath any right to oppose the laws made upon this subject by the crown and parliament of *Great Britain*; if it shall happen nevertheless, that under any pretence, or by any cause whatever, any person or any power or state may pretend to dispute the establishment which the parliament hath made of the aforesaid succession in the most serene house of *Hanover*, to oppose the said succession, to assist or favour those who may oppose it, whether directly or indirectly by open war, or by fomenting seditions and conspiracies against her or him to whom the crown of *Great Britain* shall descend, according to the acts aforesaid; the *States-general* engage and promise to assist and maintain in the said succession her or him to whom it shall belong by virtue of the said acts of parliament, to assist them in taking possession, if they should not be in actual possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them in the taking such possession, or in the actual possession of the aforesaid succession.

A R T I C L E III.

Her said majesty and the *States-general* in consequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the *Emperor*, the late king of *Great Britain*, and the *States-general*, the seventh of *September* 1701, will employ all their force to recover the rest of the *spanish Low-countries*.

A R T I C L E IV.

And further, they will endeavour to conquer as many towns
and

and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and security to the said *States*.

ARTICLE V.

And whereas, according to the ninth article of the said alliance, it is to be agreed, amongst other matters, how and in what manner the *States* shall be made safe by means of this barrier, the QUEEN of *Great Britain* will use her endeavours to procure that in the treaty of peace it may be agreed, that all the *spanish Low-countries*, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered places, shall serve as a barrier to the *States*.

ARTICLE VI.

That to this end their high mightinesses shall have the liberty to put and keep garison, to change, augment and diminish it as they shall judge proper, in the places following: namely, *Newport, Furnes* with the fort of *Knocke, Ypres, Menin*, the town and citadel of *Lisle, Tournay* and its citadel, *Conde, Valenciennes*; and the places which shall from hence forward be conquered from *France, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur* and its citadel, *Lier, Halle* to fortify, the ports of *Perle, Philippe, Damme*, the castle of *Gand*, and *Dendermonde*. The fort of *St. Donas* being joined to the fortification of the *Sluce*, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain and be yielded in property to the *States*. The fort of *Rodenbuysen* on this side *Gand* shall be demolished.

ARTICLE VII.

The said *States-general* may, in case of an apparent attack, or war, put as many troops as they shall think necessary in all the towns, places and forts in the *spanish Low-countries*, where the reason of war shall require it.

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ARTICLE VII.

They may likewise send into the towns, forts and places, where they shall have their garisons, without any hindrance and without paying any duties, provisions, ammunitions of war, arms and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary for the said garisons and fortifications.

ARTICLE IX.

The said *States-general* shall also have liberty to appoint in the towns, forts and places of their barrier, mentioned in the foregoing sixth article, where they may have garisons, such governors and commanders, majors and other officers as they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other orders, whatsoever they may be, or from whencesoever they may come relating to the security and military government of the said places, but only to those of their high mightinesses (exclusive of all others;) still preserving the rights and privileges, as well ecclesiastical as political, of king *Charles* the third.

ARTICLE X.

That besides the *States* shall have liberty to fortify the said towns, places and forts which belong to them, and repair the fortifications of them in such manner as they shall judge necessary; and further to do whatever shall be useful for their defence.

ARTICLE XI.

It is agreed, that the *States-general* shall have all the revenues of the towns, places, jurisdictions, and their dependencies, which they shall have for their barrier from *France*, which were not in the possession of the crown of *Spain* at the time of the death of the
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the late king *Charles II.* and besides, a million of livres shall be settled for the payment of one hundred thousand crowns every three months out of the clearest revenues of the *spanish Low-countries*, which the said king was then in possession of; both which are for maintaining the garisons of the *States*, and for supplying the fortifications, as also the magazines, and other necessary expences in the towns and places above mentioned. And that the said revenues may be sufficient to support these expences, endeavours shall be used for enlarging the dependencies and jurisdictions aforesaid as much as possible; and particularly, for including with the jurisdiction of *Ypres* that of *Cassel*, and the forest of *Niepe*; and with the jurisdiction of *Lisle* the jurisdiction of *Douay*, both having been so joined before the present war.

A R T I C L E XII.

That no town, fort, place, or country of the *spanish Low-countries* shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the crown of *France*, or any of the line of *France*, neither by virtue of any gift, sale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, succession by will, or through want of will, from no title whatsoever, nor in any other manner whatsoever, nor be put into the power, or under the authority of the most christian king, or any one of the line of *France*.

A R T I C L E XIII.

And whereas the said *States-general*, in consequence of the ninth article of the said alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with king *Charles* the third for putting the *States* in a condition of safety by means of the said barrier, the QUEEN of *Great Britain* will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing particulars relating to the barrier of the *States* may be inserted in the aforesaid treaty or convention; and that her said majesty will continue
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her good offices, until the abovementioned convention between the *States* and the said king *Charles* the third be concluded, agreeably to what is before-mentioned; and that her majesty will be guarantee of the said treaty or convention.

A R T I C L E XIV.

And that the said *States* may enjoy from henceforward, as much as possible, a barrier for the *spanish Low-countries*, they shall be permitted to put their garisons in the towns already taken, and which may hereafter be so, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And in the mean time the said king *Charles III.* shall not be allowed to enter into possession of the said *spanish Low-countries*, neither entirely nor in part: and during that time the QUEEN shall assist their high mightinesses to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues, and to find the million of livres a year abovementioned.

A R T I C L E XV.

And whereas their high mightinesses have stipulated by the treaty of *Munster* in the fourteenth article, that the river *Scheld*, as also the canals of *Sas*, *Swan*, and other mouths of the sea bordering thereupon should be kept shut on the side of the *States*:

And in the fifteenth article, that the ships and commodities going in and coming out of the harbours of *Flanders* shall be and remain charged with all such imposts and other duties as are raised upon commodities going and coming along the *Scheld*, and the other canals abovementioned:

The QUEEN of *Great Britain* promises and engages, that their high mightinesses shall never be disturbed in their right and possession in that respect, neither directly or indirectly; as also, that the commerce shall not in prejudice of the said treaty be made more easy by the sea-ports than by the rivers, canals, and mouths of the
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the sea, on the side of the *States* of the united provinces, neither directly or indirectly,

And whereas by the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the same treaty of *Munster* his majesty the king of *Spain* is obliged to treat the subjects of their high mightinesses as favourably as the subjects of *Great Britain* and the *Hans* towns, who were then the people most favourably treated; her *Britannick* majesty and their high mightinesses promise likewise to take care, that the subjects of *Great Britain* and of their high mightinesses shall be treated in the *spanish Low-countries* as well as in *Spain*, the kingdoms and states belonging to it, equally and as well the one as the other, as the people most favoured.

A R T I C L E XVI.

The said *QUEEN* and *States-general* oblige themselves to furnish by sea and land the succours and assistance necessary to maintain by force her said majesty in the quiet possession of her kingdoms; and the most serene house of *Hanover* in the said succession in the manner it is settled by the acts of parliament before-mentioned; and to maintain the said *States-general* in the possession of the said barrier.

A R T I C L E XVII.

After the ratifications of the treaty a particular convention shall be made of the conditions, by which the said *QUEEN* and the said lords the *States-general* will engage themselves to furnish the succours which shall be thought necessary, as well by sea as by land.

A R T I C L E XVIII.

If her *british* majesty, or the *States-general* of the united provinces, be attacked by any body whatsoever by reason of this convention,

vention, they shall mutually assist one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of the execution of the said convention.

A R T I C L E XIX.

There shall be invited and admitted into the present treaty, as soon as possible, all the kings, princes and states, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his *imperial* majesty, the kings of *Spain* and *Prussia*, and the elector of *Hanover*. And her *british* majesty and the *States-general* of the united provinces, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to require and invite those, whom they shall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

A R T I C L E XX.

And as time hath shewn the omission which was made in the treaty signed at *Ryswick* in the year 1697, between *England* and *France*, in respect of the right of the succession of *England* in the person of her majesty the QUEEN of *Great Britain*, now reigning; and that for want of having settled in that treaty this indisputable right of her majesty, *France* refused to acknowledge her for QUEEN of *Great Britain* after the death of the late king *William III.* of glorious memory: her majesty the QUEEN of *Great Britain* and the lords the *States-general* of the united provinces do agree, and engage themselves likewise, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with *France*, before the title of her majesty to the crown of *Great Britain*, as also the right of succession of the most serene house of *Hanover* to the aforesaid crown, in the manner it is settled and established by the before-mentioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged as a preliminary by *France*, and that *France* hath promised at the same time to remove out of its dominions the person who pretends to be king of *Great Britain*; and that no negotiation or formal discussion of the articles
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of the said treaty of peace shall be entered into but jointly and at the same time with the said QUEEN, or with her ministers.

ARTICLE XXI.

Her *british* majesty and the lords the *States-general* of the united provinces shall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the present treaty within the space of four weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the signing. In testimony whereof the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her *british* majesty, and the deputies of the lords the *States-general* have signed this present treaty, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague the 29th of Oct. in the year 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.

(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.

(L. S.) A. Heinsius.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE SEPARATE ARTICLE.

AS in the preliminary articles signed here at the Hague the 28th of May 1709, by the plenipotentiaries of his imperial majesty, of her majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain, and of the lords the *States-general* of the united provinces, it is stipulated, amongst other things, that the lords the *States-general* shall have, with entire property and sovereignty, the upper quarter of Guelder, according to the fifty second article of the treaty of Munster of the year 1648; as also, that the garisons which are or hereafter shall be, on the part of the lords the *States-*

States general in the town of Huy, the citadel of Liege, and in the town of Bonne, shall remain there, until it shall be otherwise agreed upon with his imperial majesty and the empire: and as the barrier, which is this day agreed upon in the principal treaty for the mutual guarantee between her british majesty and the lords the States-general, cannot give to the united provinces the safety for which it is established, unless it be well secured from one end to the other, and that the communication of it be well joined together, for which the upper quarter of Guelder, and the garisons in the citadel of Liege, Huy, and Bonne are absolutely necessary: (experience having thrice shewn, that France having a design to attack the united provinces, has made use of the places above-mentioned, in order to come at them, and to penetrate into the said provinces.) And further, as in respect to the equivalent for which the upper quarter of Guelder is to be yielded to the united provinces, according to the fifty second article of the treaty of Munster above mentioned, his majesty king Charles III. will be much more gratified and advantaged in other places, than that equivalent can avail: to the end therefore that the lords the States-general may have the upper quarter of Guelder with entire property and sovereignty; and that the said upper quarter of Guelder may be yielded in this manner to the said lords the States-general, in the convention, or the treaty that they are to make with his majesty king Charles III. according to the thirteenth article of the treaty concluded this day; as also that their garisons in the citadel of Liege, in that of Huy, and in Bonne, may remain there, until it be otherwise agreed upon with his imperial majesty and the empire; her majesty the QUEEN of Great Britain engages herself, and promises by this separate article, which shall have the same force as if it were inserted in the principal treaty, to make the same efforts for all this, as she hath engaged herself to make for the obtaining the barrier in the Spanish Low-countries. In testimony whereof the under-written ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her british majesty and deputies of

of the lords the States-general, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) G. Hœuft.

(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.

(L. S.) A. Heinfius.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE SECOND SEPARATE ARTICLE.

A*S the lords the States-general have represented, that in Flanders the limits between spanish Flanders and that of the States are settled in such a manner, as that the land belonging to the States is extremely narrow there; so that in some places the territory of spanish Flanders extends itself to the fortifications, and under the cannon of the places, towns, and forts of the States, which occasions many inconveniencies, as hath been seen by an example a little before the beginning of the present war, when a fort was designed to have been built under the cannon of the Sas Van Gand, under pretence, that it was upon the territory of Spain: and as it is necessary, for avoiding these, and other sorts of inconveniencies, that the land of the States upon the confines of Flanders should be enlarged, and that the places, towns, and forts should by that means be better covered: her british majesty entering into the just motives of the said lords the States-general in this respect, promises and engages herself by this separate article, that in the convention which the said lords the States-general are to make with his majesty king Charles the third, she will assist them as*
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that it may be agreed, that by the cession to the said lords the States-general of the property of an extent of land necessary to obviate such like, and other inconveniencies, their limits in Flanders shall be enlarged more conveniently for their security; and those of the Spanish Flanders removed farther from their towns, places and forts, to the end that these may not be so exposed any more. In testimony whereof the under-written ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her british majesty and deputies of the lords the States-general have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) A. Heinfius.

(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

The articles of the Counter-project, which were struck out or altered by the Dutch in the Barrier treaty; with some Remarks.

A R T I C L E VI.

TO this end their high mightinesses shall have power to put and keep garisons in the following places, *viz. New-port, Knocke, Menin, the citadel of Lisle, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle to fortify, the fort of Perle, Damme, and the castle of Gand.*

R E M A R K S.

In the barrier treaty the *States* added the following places to those mentioned in this article, *viz. Furnes, Ypres, towns of Lisle, Maubeuge,*

Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, fort of *St. Donas* (which is to be in property to the *States*) and the fort of *Rodenhuysen* to be demolished. To say nothing of the other places, *Dendermonde* is the key of all *Brabant*; and the demolishing of the fort of *Rhodenhuysen*, situate between *Gand* and *Sas van Gand*, can only serve to defraud the king of *Spain* of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.

ARTICLE VII.

The said *States* may put into the said towns, forts and places, and in case of open war with *France*, into all the other towns, places and forts whatever troops the reason of war shall require.

REMARKS.

But in the barrier treaty it is said: *in case of an apparent attack, or war*, without specifying against *France*: neither is the number of troops limited to what the reason of war shall require, but what the *States* shall think necessary.

ARTICLE IX.

Besides some smaller differences, ends with a salvo, not only for the ecclesiastical and civil rights of the king of *Spain*, but likewise for his revenues in the said towns; which revenues in the barrier treaty are all given to the *States*.

ARTICLE XI.

The revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of the towns and places, which the *States* shall have for their barrier against *France*, and which were not in the possession of the crown of *Spain* at the late king of *Spain's* death, shall be settled to be a fund for maintaining garisons, and providing for the fortifications and magazines,

gazines, and other necessary charges of the said towns of the barrier.

R E M A R K S.

I desire the reader to compare this with the eleventh article of the barrier treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

A R T I C L E XIV.

All this to be without prejudice to such other treaties and conventions as the QUEEN of *Great Britain* and their high mightinesses may think fit to make for the future with the said king *Charles* the third, relating to the said *spanish Netherlands*, or to the said barrier.

A R T I C L E XV.

And to the end that the said *States* may enjoy at present as much as it is possible a barrier in the *spanish Netherlands*, they shall be permitted to put their garisons in the chief towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a peace be made.

R E M A R K S.

These two articles are not in the barrier treaty, but two others in their stead; to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly necessary for the *Dutch* to strike out the former of these articles, when so great a part of the treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to *Great Britain*, as well as to the king of *Spain*; especially in the two articles inserted in the place of these, which I desire the reader will examine.

A R T I C L E XX.

And whereas by the fifth and ninth articles of the alliance between

tween the *Emperor*, the late king of *Great Britain*, and the *States-general*, concluded the seventh of *September* 1701, it is agreed and stipulated, that the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* with all the dependencies of the crown of *Spain* in *Italy* shall be recovered from the possession of *France*, as being of the last consequence to the trade of both nations, as well as the *spanish Netherlands* for a barrier for the *States-general*; therefore the said *QUEEN* of *Great Britain* and the *States-general* agree and oblige themselves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with *France*, before the restitution of the said kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with all the dependencies of the crown of *Spain* in *Italy* as well as the *spanish Low-countries*, with the other towns and places in the possession of *France* above-mentioned in this treaty; and also after the manner specified in this treaty; as likewise all the rest of the entire monarchy of *Spain* be yielded by *France* as a preliminary.

ARTICLE XXII.

And whereas experience hath shewn of what importance it is to great *Britain* and the *united provinces*, that the fortress and port of *Dunkirk* should not be in the possession of *France* in the condition they are at present; the subjects of both nations having undergone such great losses, and suffered so much in their trade by the prizes taken from them by privateers set out from that port; inasmuch that *France* by her unmeasurable ambition may be always tempted to make some enterprizes upon the territories of the *QUEEN* of *Great Britain* and their high mightinesses, and interrupt the publick repose and tranquillity; for the preservation of which, and the balance of *Europe* against the exorbitant power of *France*, the allies engaged themselves in this long and burthensome war; therefore the said *QUEEN* of *Great Britain* and their high mightinesses agree and oblige themselves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with *France*, before it shall be

yielded and stipulated by *France* as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the said town of *Dunkirk*, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demolished and razed, and that the port be entirely ruined and rendered impracticable.

R E M A R K S.

These two articles are likewise omitted in the barrier treaty; whereof the first regards particularly the interests of the house of *Austria*; and the other about demolishing *Dunkirk* those of *Great Britain*. It is something strange, that the late ministry, whose advocates raise such a clamour about the necessity of recovering *Spain* from the house of *Bourbon*, should suffer the *Dutch* to strike out this article, which I think clearly shews the reason why the *States* never troubled themselves with the thoughts of reducing *Spain* or even recovering *Milan*, *Naples* and *Sicily* to the *Emperor*; but were wholly fixed upon the conquest of *Flanders*, because they had determined those provinces as a property for themselves.

As for the article about demolishing of *Dunkirk*, I am not at all surprized to find it struck out; the destruction of that place, although it would be useful to the *States*, doth more nearly import *Britain*, and was therefore a point that such ministers could more easily get over.

The sentiments of prince EUGENE of Savoy, and of the count DE SINZENDORF, relating to the barrier of the States-general, to the upper quarter of Guelder, and to the towns of the electorate of Cologne, and of the bishoprick of Liege.

ALTHOUGH the orders and instructions of the courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona* upon the matters abovementioned do not go so far as to give directions for what follows; notwithstanding,

standing, the PRINCE and COUNT above-mentioned, considering the present state of affairs, are of the following opinion :

First, that the counter project of *England*, relating to the places where the *States-general* may put and keep garisons, ought to be followed, except *Lier*, *Halle* to fortify, and the castle of *Gand*. Provided likewise, that the sentiments of *England* be particularly conformed to relating to *Dendermond* and *Ostend*, as places in no wise belonging to the barrier; and which, as well as the castle of *Gand*, can only serve to make the *States-general* masters of the *Low-countries*, and hinder trade with *England*. And as to *Lier* and *Halle*, those who are acquainted with the country know that these towns cannot give any security to the *States-general*; but can only make people believe, that these places being fortified would rather serve to block up *Brussels* and the other great cities of *Brabant*.

Secondly, as to what is said in the seventh article of the counter project of *England*, relating to the augmentation of garisons in the towns of the barrier in case of an open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of the said prince and count; who think likewise, that there ought to be added to the eighth article, that no goods or merchandise should be sent into the towns where the *States-general* shall have garisons, nor be comprehended under the names of such things as the said garisons and fortifications shall have need of. And that to this end the said things shall be inspected in those places where they are to pass; as likewise the quantity shall be settled that the garisons may want.

Thirdly, as to the ninth article relating to the governours and commanders of those towns, forts and places where the *States-general* shall have their garisons; the said prince and count are of opinion, that the said governours and commanders ought to take an oath as well to the king of *Spain* as to the *States-general*: but they may take a particular oath to the latter, that they will not admit foreign troops without their consent; and that they will

will depend exclusively upon the said *States* in whatever regards the military power. But at the same time they ought exclusively to promise the king of *Spain*, that they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters, ecclesiastical or civil, unless at the desire of the king's officers to assist them in the execution; in which case the said commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

Fourthly, as to the tenth article there is nothing to be added, unless that the *States-general* may repair and encrease the fortifications of the towns, places and forts where they shall have their garisons; but this at their own expence. Otherwise, under that pretext they might seize all the revenues of the country.

Fifthly, as to the eleventh article they think the *States* ought not to have the revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of these towns and places, which are to be their barrier against *France*; this being a sort of sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the ecclesiastical and civil oeconomy of the country. But the said *prince* and *count* are of opinion, that the *States-general* ought to have, for the maintenance of their garisons and fortifications, a sum of money of a million and a half, or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the king's officers, who shall be ordered to pay that sum before any other payment.

Sixthly, and the convention which shall be made on this affair between his *catholick* majesty and the *States-general* shall be for a limited time.

These are the utmost conditions to which the said *prince* and *count* think it possible for his *catholick* majesty to be brought; and they declare at the same time, that their *imperial* and *catholick* majesties will sooner abandon the *Low-countries*, than take them upon other conditions, which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other side the said *prince* and *count* are persuaded, that the advantages at this time yielded to the *States-general* may hereafter

after be very prejudicial to themselves ; forasmuch as they may put the people of the *spanish Netherlands* to some dangerous extremity, considering the antipathy between the two nations ; and that extending of frontiers is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of *Guelder*, the said *prince* and *count* are of opinion, that the *States-general* may be allowed the power of putting in garisons into *Venlo*, *Ruremond* and *Steffenswaert*, with orders to furnish the said *States* with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thousand florins.

As to *Bonne*, belonging to the electorate of *Cologne*, *Liege* and *Huy* to the bishoprick of *Liege*, it is to be understood, that these being *imperial* towns, it doth not depend upon the *Emperor* to consent that foreign garisons should be placed in them upon any pretence whatsoever. But whereas the *States-general* demand them only for their security, it is proposed to place in those towns a garison of *imperial* troops of whom the *States* may be in no suspicion, as they might be of a garison of an elector, who might possibly have views opposite to their interests. But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to raze one or other of the said towns.

The representation of the english merchants at Bruges, relating to the barrier treaty.

DAVID WHITE and other merchants, her majesty's subjects residing at Bruges and other towns in Flanders, crave leave humbly to represent :

THAT whereas the cities of *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Menin*, *Douay*, and other new conquests in *Flanders* and *Artois*, taken from the *French* this war by the united forces of her majesty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the *States-general* ; and that we her majesty's subjects may be made liable

liable to such duties and impositions on trade as the said *States-general* shall think fit to impose on us: we humbly hope and conceive, that it is her majesty's intention and design, that the trade of her dominions and subjects, which is carried on with these new conquests, may be on an equal foot with that of the subjects and dominions of the *States-general*, and not be liable to any new duty, when transported from the *spanish Netherlands* to the said new conquests, as to our great surprize is exacted from us on the following goods, *viz.* butter, tallow, salmon, hides, beef, and all other product of her majesty's dominions, which we import at *Ostend*, and there pay the duty of entry to the king of *Spain*, and consequently ought not to be liable to any new duty, when they carry the same goods and all others from their dominions by a free pass or *transfire* to the said new conquests: and we are under apprehension, that if the said new conquests be settled, or given entirely into the possession of the *States-general* for their barrier, (as we are made believe by a treaty lately made by her majesty's ambassador, the lord viscount *Townshend*, at the *Hague*) that the *States-general* may also soon declare all goods and merchandises, which are contraband in their provinces, to be also contraband or prohibited in these new conquests, or new barrier; by which her majesty's subjects will be deprived of the sale and consumption of the following products of her majesty's dominions, which are and have long been declared contraband in the united provinces, such as *english* and *scots* salt, malt spirits, or corn brandy, and all other sorts of distilled *english* spirits, whale and rape oil, etc.

It is therefore humbly conceived, that her majesty, out of her great care and gracious concern for the benefit of her subjects and dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a treaty of commerce, or some other way, that their trade may be put on an equal foot in all the *spanish Netherlands* and the new conquests of barrier with the subjects of *Holland*, by paying no other duty than that
of

of importation to the king of *Spain*; and by a provision, that no product of her majesty's dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new conquests, except such goods as were esteemed contraband before the death of *Charles II.* king of *Spain*. And it is also humbly prayed, that the product and manufacture of the new conquests may be also exported without paying any new duty, besides that of exportation at *Ostend*, which was always paid to the king of *Spain*; it being impossible for any nation in *Europe* to assort an entire cargoe for the *spanish West-Indies* without a considerable quantity of several of the manufactures of *Lisle*; such as caradoros, cajant, picofes, boratten, and many other goods.

The chief things to be demanded of *France* are, to be exempted from tonnage, to have a liberty of importing herrings and all other fish to *France* on the same terms as the *Dutch* do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce immediately after the treaty of peace at *Ryfwick*. The enlarging her majesty's plantations in *America*, etc. is naturally recommended.

A
P R E F A C E

To the RIGHT REVEREND

Dr. BURNET, Bishop of Sarum's

I N T R O D U C T I O N

To the THIRD VOLUME of the

History of the Reformation

O F T H E

C H U R C H O F E N G L A N D .

Spargere voces

In vulgum ambiguas, & quærere conscius arma.

Written in the Year 1712.

TO THE HONOURABLE

PARLIAMENT

INTRODUCTION

History of the Reformation

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

TO THE BOOKSELLER.

Mr. *Morphew*,

YOUR care in putting an advertisement in the *Examiner* hath been of very great use to me. I now send you my preface to the bishop of *Sarum's introduction* to his third volume, which I desire you to print in such a form as in the bookseller's phrase will make a *six-penny touch*; hoping it will give such a publick notice of my design, that it may come into the hands of those, who perhaps look not into the bishop's *introduction* *. I desire you will prefix to this a passage out of *Virgil*, which doth so perfectly agree with my present thoughts of his lordship, that I cannot express them better, nor more truly, than those words do.

I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant.

* The bishop's introduction is prefaced with a letter to his bookseller, of which this is a burlesque.

P R E F A C E

To the RIGHT REVEREND

Dr. BURNET, Bishop of Sarum's

INTRODUCTION, *etc.*

THIS way of publishing introductions to books that are God knows when to come out, is either wholly new, or so long unpractised, that my small reading cannot trace it. However, we are to suppose, that a person of his lordship's great age and experience would hardly act such a piece of singularity without some extraordinary motives. I cannot but observe, that his fellow-labourer, the author of the paper called * *the Englishman*, seems in some of his late performances to have almost transcribed the notions of the bishop: these notions I take to have been dictated by the same masters, leaving to each writer that peculiar manner of expressing himself, which the poverty of our language forceth me to call their style. When the *Guardian* changed his title and professed to engage in faction, I was sure the word was given; that grand preparations were making against next sessions; that all advantages would be taken of the little dissensions reported to be among those in power; and that the *Guardian* would soon be seconded by some other *piquerers* from the same camp. But I will confess my suspicions did not carry me so far as to conjecture, that this venerable champion would be in such mighty haste to come into the field, and serve in the quality of an *enfant † perdu*

* Mr. STEELE. † *Enfant perdu*, one of the forlorn hope; the forlorn hope is a number of men selected for any desperate enterprize, or appointed for the first onset in a battle.

armed

armed only with a *pocket-pistol*, before his great *blunderbuss* could be got ready, his old rusty *breast-plate* scoured, and his cracked *head-piece* mended.

I was debating with myself, whether this hint of producing a small pamphlet to give notice of a large folio was not borrowed from the ceremonial in *spanish* romances, where a *dwarf* is sent out upon the battlements to signify to all passengers what a mighty *giant* there is in the castle; or whether the bishop copied this proceeding from the *fanfaronnade* † of monsieur *Bouffleurs*, when the earl of *Portland* and that general had an interview. Several men were appointed at certain periods to ride in great haste towards the *english* camp, and cry out, *monseigneur vient, monseigneur vient* ‡: then small parties advanced with the same speed, and the same cry; and this foppery held for many hours, until the *mareschal* himself arrived. So here the bishop (as we find by his dedication to Mr. *Churchill* the bookseller) hath for a long time sent warning of his arrival by advertisements in *gazettes*; and now his *introduction* advanceth to tell us again, *monseigneur vient*: in the mean time we must gape, and wait, and gaze, the lord knows how long, and keep our spirits in some reasonable agitation, until his lordship's real self shall think fit to appear in the habit of a folio.

I have seen the same sort of management at a puppet-show. Some puppets of little or no consequence appeared several times at the window to allure the boys and the rabble: the trumpeter sounded often, and the door-keeper cried an hundred times, until he was hoarse, that they were *just going to begin*; yet after all we were forced sometimes to wait an hour before *punch* himself in person made his entry.

But why this ceremony among old acquaintance? the world and he have long known one another: let him appoint his hour, and make his visit, without troubling us all day with a succession of messages from his lacquies and pages.

† *Fanfaronnade*, vain ostentation.

‡ My lord is coming, my lord is coming.

With

With submission, these little arts of getting off an edition do ill become any author above the size of *Marten* the surgeon. My lord tells us, that *many thousands of the two former parts of his history are in the kingdom*; and now he perpetually *advertiseth in the gazette*, that he intends to publish the third. This is exactly in the method and style of *Marten: the seventh edition* (*many thousands of the former editions having been sold off in a small time*) of Mr. Marten's book concerning *secret diseases, etc.*

Doth his lordship intend to publish his great volume by subscription, and is this introduction only by way of *specimen*? I was inclined to think so, because in the prefixed letter to Mr. *Churchill*, which *introduces this introduction*, there are some dubious expressions: he says, *the advertisements he published were in order to move people to furnish him with materials, which might help him to finish his work with great advantage*. If he means half-a-guinea upon the subscription, and the other half at the delivery, why doth he not tell us so in plain terms?

I am wondering how it came to pass, that this diminutive letter to Mr. *Churchill* should understand the business of *introducing* better than the *introduction* itself; or why the bishop did not take it into his head to send the former into the world some months before the latter, which would have been yet a greater improvement upon the solemnity of the procession?

Since I writ these last lines, I have perused the whole pamphlet (which I had only dipt in before) and found I have been hunting upon a wrong scent, for the author hath in several parts of his piece discovered the true motives, which put him upon sending it abroad at this juncture; I shall therefore consider them as they come in my way.

My lord begins his *introduction* with an account of the reasons, why he was guilty of so many mistakes in the first volume of his *history of the reformation*: his excuses are just, rational, and extremely consistent. He says, *he wrote in haste*, which he confirms:

firms by adding, *that it lay a year after he wrote it before it was put into the press.* At the same time he mentions a passage extremely to the honour of that pious and excellent prelate, archbishop *Sancroft*, which demonstrates his grace to have been a person of great sagacity, and almost a prophet. Doctor *Burnet*, then a private divine, *desired admittance to the Cotton library, but was prevented* by the archbishop, who told Sir John Cotton, that the said doctor was no friend to the prerogative of the crown, or to the constitution of the kingdom.* This judgment was the more extraordinary, because the doctor had not long before published a book in *Scotland* with his name prefixed, which carries the regal prerogative higher than any writer of the age: however, the good archbishop lived to see his opinion become universal in the kingdom.

The bishop goes on, for many pages, with an account of certain facts relating to the publishing his two former volumes of the *reformation*; the great success of that work, and the adversaries who appeared against it. These are matters out of the way of my reading; only I observe that poor Mr. *Henry Wharton*, who hath deserved so well of the commonwealth of learning, and who gave himself the trouble of detecting some hundreds of the bishop's mistakes, meets with very ill quarter from his lordship; upon which I cannot avoid mentioning a peculiar method which this

* It is somewhat remarkable to see the progress of this story. In the first edition of this *introduction*, it should seem, "he was PREVENTED by the archbishop," etc. When the *introduction* was reprinted a year after with the *history*, it stands: "A GREAT PRELATE had been before-hand and possessed him [Sir John Cotton] against me—That unless the archbishop of *Canterbury* would recommend me—he desired to be excused—The bishop of *Worcester* could not prevail on the archbishop to INTERPOSE." This is somewhat less than PREVENTING: unless the archbishop be meant by the GREAT PRELATE; which is not very probable, 1. Because in the preface to this very

3d volume, p. 4. he says, "It was by archbishop *Sancroft's* order he had the free use of every thing that lay in the *Lambeth* library." 2. Because the author of *Speculum Sarisburianum*, p. 6. tells us, "His access to the library was owing SOLELY to the recommendation of archbishop *Sancroft*, as I have been informed" (says the author) by some of the family." 3. Because bishop *Burnet* in his *history of his own times*, vol. I. pag. 396. says it was "DOLBEN, bishop of *Rochester*, [at the instigation of the duke of *Lauderdale*] that diverted Sir John Cotton from suffering him to search his library."

prelate takes to revenge himself upon those who presume to differ from him in print. The bishop of *Rochester* * happened some years ago to be of this number. My lord of *Sarum* in his reply ventured to tell the world, that the gentleman who had writ against him, meaning Dr. *Atterbury*, was one upon whom he had conferred great obligations; which was a very generous christian contrivance of charging his adversary with ingratitude. But it seems the truth happened to be on the other side, which the doctor made appear in such a manner as would have silenced his lordship for ever, if he had not been writing proof. Poor Mr. *Wharton* in his grave is charged with the same accusation, but with circumstances the most aggravating that malice and something else could invent: and which I will no more believe than five hundred passages in a certain book of travels †. See the character he gives of a divine and a scholar, who shortened his life in the service of God and the church. *Mr. Wharton desired me to intercede with Tillotson for a prebend of Canterbury. I did so, but Wharton would not believe it; said he would be revenged, and so writ against me. Soon after he was convinced I had spoke for him; said he was set on to do what he did, and if I would procure any thing for him he would discover every thing to me.* What a spirit of candour, charity and good nature, generosity and truth, shines through this story, told of a most excellent and pious divine twenty years after his death without one single voucher!

Come we now to the reasons, which moved his lordship to set about this work at this time. *He could delay it no longer, because the reasons of his engaging in it at first seemed to return upon him.* He was then frightened with *the danger of a popish successor in view, and the dreadful apprehensions of the power of France.* England hath forgot these dangers, and yet is nearer to them than ever, and therefore he is resolved to awaken them with his third volume; but in the mean time sends this *introduction* to let them

* Dr. *Atterbury*.† *Burnet's Travels.*

know they are asleep. He then goes on in describing the condition of the kingdom after such a manner, as if destruction hung over us by a single hair; as if the *pope*, the *devil*, the *pretender*, and *France* were just at our doors.

When the bishop published his history, there was a *popish* plot on foot: the duke of *York*, a known *papist*, was presumptive heir to the crown: the house of commons would not hear of any expedient for securing their religion under a *popish* prince, nor would the king, or lords, consent to a bill of exclusion: the *french* king was in the height of his grandeur, and the vigour of his age. At this day the presumptive heir, with that whole illustrious family, are *protestants*; the *popish* pretender excluded for ever by several acts of parliament; and every person in the smallest employment, as well as the members of both houses, obliged to *abjure* him. The *french* king is at the lowest ebb of life; his armies have been conquered, and his towns won from him for ten years together; and his kingdom is in danger of being torn by divisions during a long minority. Are these cases parallel? Or are we now in more danger of *France* and *popery*, than we were thirty years ago? What can be the motive for advancing such false, such detestable assertions? What conclusions would his lordship draw from such premisses as these? If injurious appellations were of any advantage to a cause (as the style of our adversaries would make us believe) what appellations would those deserve, who thus endeavour to sow the seeds of sedition and are impatient to see the fruits? *But*, saith he, *the deaf adder stoppeth her ears, let the charmer charm never so wisely*. True my lord, there are indeed too many *adders* in this nation's bosom; *adders* in all shapes and in all habits, whom neither the QUEEN nor parliament can *charm* to loyalty, truth, religion, or honour.

Among other instances produced by him of the dismal condition we are in, he offers one which could not easily be guessed. It is this, *that the little factious pamphlets written about the end of*
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king

king Charles II's reign lie dead in shops, are looked on as waste paper, and turned to pasteboard. How many are there of his lordship's writing, which could otherwise never have been of any real service to the publick? hath he indeed so mean an opinion of our taste to send us at this time of day into all the corners of *Holbourn, Duck-Lane, and Moorfields*, in quest after the factious trash published in those days by *Julian Johnson, Hickeringil, Dr. Oates*, and himself?

His lordship taking it for a *postulatum*, that the QUEEN and ministry, both houses of parliament, and a vast majority of the landed gentlemen throughout *England* are running headlong into *popery*, layeth hold on the occasion to describe *the cruelties in queen Mary's reign: an inquisition setting up faggots in Smithfield, and executions all over the kingdom.* Here is that, says he, which those, that look towards a *popish successor*, must look for. And he insinuates through his whole pamphlet, that all, who are not of his party, look towards a *popish successor*. These he divides into two parts, the *tory laity* and the *tory clergy*. He tells the former: *although they have no religion at all, but resolve to change with every wind and tide; yet they ought to have compassion on their countrymen and kindred.* Then he applies himself to the *tory clergy*, assures them, that *the fires revived in Smithfield, and all over the nation, will have no amiable view, but least of all to them who if they have any principles at all must be turned out of their livings, leave their families, be hunted from place to place into parts beyond the seas, and meet with that contempt with which they treated foreigners, who took sanctuary among us.*

This requires a recapitulation with some remarks. First, I do affirm, that in every hundred of professed *atheists, deists, and socinians* in the kingdom, ninety-nine at least are staunch thorough-paced *whigs*, entirely agreeing with his lordship in politicks and discipline; and therefore will venture all the fires of hell, rather than singe one hair of their beards in *Smithfield*. Secondly, I do likewise

likewise affirm, that those whom we usually understand by the appellation of *tory*, or high church, clergy were the greatest sticklers against the exorbitant proceedings of king *James* the second, the best writers against *popery*, and the most exemplary sufferers for the established religion. Thirdly, I do pronounce it to be a most false and infamous scandal upon the nation in general, and on the clergy in particular, to reproach them for *treating foreigners with haughtiness and contempt*. The *french Hugonots* are many thousand witnesses to the contrary; and I wish they deserved the thousandth part of the good treatment they have received.

Lastly, I observe, that the author of a paper called *the Englishman* hath run into the same cant, gravely advising the whole body of the clergy not to bring in *popery*; because that will put them under a necessity of parting with their wives, or losing their livings.

The bulk of the kingdom, both clergy and laity, happen to differ extremely from this prelate in many principles both of politics and religion. Now I ask, whether, if any man of them had signed his name to a system of *atheism*, or *popery*, he could have argued with them otherwise than he doth? Or, if I should write a grave letter to his lordship with the same advice, taking it for granted that he was half an *atheist* and half a *papist*, and conjuring him by all he held dear to have compassion upon all those who believed a God; *not to revive the fires in Smithfield; that he must either forfeit his bishoprick, or not marry a fourth wife*; I ask, whether he would not think I intended him the highest injury and affront?

But as to the *tory* laity, he gives them up in a lump for abandoned atheists: they are a set of men so *impiously corrupted in the point of religion, that no scene of cruelty can fright them from leaping into it* [*popery*] *and perhaps acting such a part in it as may be assigned them*. He therefore despairs of influencing them by any
topicks

topicks drawn from religion or compassion, and advances the consideration of *interest*, as the only powerful argument to persuade them against *popery*.

What he offers upon this head is so very amazing from a *Christian*, a *clergyman*, and a *prelate* of the *church* of *England*, that I must in my own imagination strip him of those three capacities, and put him among the number of *that set of men* he mentions in the paragraph before; or else it will be impossible to shape out an answer.

His lordship, in order to dissuade the *tories* from their design of bringing in *popery*, tells them, *how valuable a part of the whole soil of England the abby lands, the estates of the bishops, of the cathedrals, and the tythes are*: how difficult such a resumption would be to many families; yet all these must be thrown up; for sacrilege in the church of Rome is a mortal sin. I desire it may be observed, what a jumble here is made of ecclesiastical revenues, as if they were all upon the same foot, were alienated with equal justice, and the clergy had no more reason to complain of one than the other; whereas the four branches mentioned by him are of very different consideration. If I might venture to guess the opinion of the clergy upon this matter, I believe they could wish, that some small part of the *abby lands* had been applied to the augmentation of poor bishopricks; and a very few acres to serve for glebes in those parishes, where there are none; after which I think they would not repine that the laity should possess the rest. If the estates of some bishops and cathedrals were exorbitant before the reformation, I believe the present clergy's wishes reach no further, than that some reasonable temper had been used, instead of paring them to the quick. But as to the *tythes*, without examining whether they be of divine institution, I conceive there is hardly one of that sacred order in *England*, and very few even among the *laity* who love the *church*, who will not allow the misapplying those revenues to secular persons to have been at first a most flagrant

grant act of injustice and oppression; although, at the same time, God forbid they should be restored any other way than by gradual purchase, by the consent of those who are now the lawful possessors, or by the piety and generosity of such worthy spirits as this nation sometimes produceth. The bishop knows very well, that the application of *tythes* to the maintenance of monasteries was a scandalous usurpation, even in *popish* times: that the monks usually sent out some of their fraternity to supply the cures; and that when the monasteries were granted away by *Henry VIII.* the parishes were left destitute, or very meanly provided, of any maintenance for a pastor. So that in many places the whole ecclesiastical dues, even to *mortuaries*, *Easter offerings*, and the like, are in lay hands, and the incumbent lieth wholly at the mercy of his patron for his daily bread. By these means there are several hundred parishes in *England* under twenty pounds a year, and many under ten. I take his lordship's bishoprick to be worth near 2500*l.* annual income; and I will engage at half a year's warning to find him above an hundred beneficed clergymen, who have not so much among them all to support themselves and their families: most of them orthodox, of good life and conversation; as loth to see the fires kindled in *Smithfield* as his lordship; and at least as ready to face them under a *popish* persecution. But nothing is so hard for those, who abound in riches, as to conceive how others can be in want. How can the neighbouring vicar feel cold or hunger, while my lord is seated by a good fire, in the warmest room of his palace, with a dozen dishes before him? I remember one other prelate much of the same stamp, who when his clergy would mention their wishes that some act of parliament might be thought of for the good of the church, would say: *Gentlemen, we are very well as we are; if they would let us alone we should ask no more.*

Sacrilege (says my lord) *in the church of Rome is a mortal sin:* and is it only so in the *church of Rome*? Or, is it but a venial
fin

sin in the church of *England*? Our litany calls *fornication* a *deadly sin*; and I would appeal to his lordship for fifty years past, whether he thought that or *sacrilege* the *deadliest*? To make light of such a sin at the same moment that he is frightening us from an idolatrous religion, should seem not very consistent. *Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?*

To smoothe the way for the return of popery in queen *Mary's* time, the grantees were confirmed by the *pope* in the possession of the abby lands. But the bishop tells us, that *this confirmation was fraudulent and invalid*. I shall believe it to be so, although I happen to read it in his lordship's history. But he adds, *that although the confirmation had been good, the priests would have got their land again by these two methods*: First, *The statute of Mortmain was repealed for twenty years; in which time no doubt they reckoned they would recover the best part of what they had lost; besides that, engaging the clergy to renew no leases was a thing entirely in their own power; and this in forty years time would raise their revenues to be about ten times their present value*. These two expedients for increasing the revenues of the *church* he represents as pernicious designs, fit only to be practised in times of *popery*, and such as the *laity* ought never to consent to: from whence and from what he said before about tythes his lordship hath freely declared his opinion, that the clergy are rich enough, and that the least addition to their subsistence would be a step towards *popery*. Now it happens, that the two only methods, which could be thought on with any probability of success towards some reasonable augmentation of ecclesiastical revenues, are here rejected by a bishop as a means for introducing *popery*, and the nation publicly warned against them: whereas the continuance of the statute of *Mortmain* in full force after the church had been so terribly stripped appeared to her majesty and the kingdom a very unnecessary hardship; upon which account it was at several times
relaxed

relaxed by the legislature. Now, as the relaxation of that statute is manifestly one of the reasons, which gives the bishop those terrible apprehensions of *popery* coming on us; so I conceive another ground of his fears is the remission of the *first-fruits* and *tenths*. But where the inclination to *popery* lay, whether in her majesty who proposed this benefaction, the parliament which confirmed, or the clergy who accepted it, his lordship hath not thought fit to determine.

The other *popish* expedient for augmenting church revenues is, *engaging the clergy to renew no leases*. Several of the most eminent clergymen have assured me, that nothing has been more wished for by good men than a law to prevent (at least) bishops from setting leases for lives. I could name ten bishopricks in *England*, whose revenues one with another do not amount to 600 pounds a year for each: and if his lordship's, for instance, would be above ten times the value when the lives are expired, I should think the overplus would not be ill disposed towards an augmentation of such as are now shamefully poor. But I do assert, that such an expedient was not always thought *popish* and dangerous by this right reverend historian. I have had the honour formerly to converse with him; and he hath told me several years ago, that he lamented extremely the power which bishops had of letting leases for lives; whereby, as he said, they were utterly deprived of raising their revenues, whatever alterations might happen in the value of money by length of time. I think the reproach of betraying private conversation will not upon this account be laid to my charge. Neither do I believe he would have changed his opinion upon any score, but to take up another more agreeable to the maxims of his party, *That the least addition of property to the church is one step towards popery*.

The bishop goes on with much earnestness and prolixity to prove, That the *pope's* confirmation of the *church lands* to those who held them by king *Henry's* donation was null and fraudulent;

lent; which is a point that, I believe, no *protestant* in *England* would give three-pence to have his choice, whether it should be true or false: it might indeed serve as a passage in his history, among a thousand other instances, to detect the knavery of the court of *Rome*: but I ask, Where could be the use of it in this *introduction*? Or why all this haste in publishing it at this juncture; and so out of all method, apart, and before the work itself? He gives his reasons in very plain terms: we are now, it seems, *in more danger of popery than towards the end of king Charles the Second's reign*. *That set of men* (the *tories*) *is so impiously corrupted in the point of religion, that no scene of cruelty can frighten them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a part in it as may be assigned them*. He doubts whether the high-church clergy have any principles; and therefore will be ready to turn off their wives, and look on the fires kindled in *Smithfield* as an *amiable view*. These are the facts he all along takes for granted, and argues accordingly. Therefore in despair of dissuading the nobility and gentry of the land from introducing *popery* by any motives of honour, religion, alliance, or mercy, he assures them, *That the pope hath not duly confirmed their tythes to the church lands in their possession*; which therefore must be infallibly restored as soon as that religion is established among us.

Thus in his lordship's opinion there is nothing wanting to make the majority of the kingdom, both for number, quality, and possession, immediately embrace *popery*, except a *firm bull from the pope* to secure the abby and other church lands and tythes to the present proprietors and their heirs: if this only difficulty could now be adjusted, the *pretender* would be restored next session, the two houses reconciled to the church of *Rome* against *Easter* term, and the fires lighted in *Smithfield* by *Midsummer*. Such horrible calumnies against a nation are not the less injurious to decency, good-nature, truth, honour, and religion, because they may be vented with safety, and I will appeal to any reader of common understand-

understanding, whether this be not the most natural and necessary deduction from the passages I have cited and referred to.

Yet all this is but friendly dealing, in comparison with what he affords the clergy upon the same article. He supposes that whole reverend body, who differ from him in principles of *church* or *state*, so far from disliking *popery* upon the above mentioned motives of *perjury*, *quitting their wives*, or *burning their relations*; that the hopes of *enjoying the abby lands* would soon bear down all such considerations, and be an effectual incitement to their perversion: and so he goes gravely on, as with the only argument which he thinks can have any force, to assure them, that the *parochial priests in roman catholick countries are much poorer than in ours*; *the several orders of regulars, and the magnificence of their church devouring all their treasure*; and by consequence, *their hopes are vain of expecting to be richer after the introduction of popery*.

But after all, his lordship despairs that even this argument will have any force with our abominable clergy, because, to use his own words, *They are an insensible and degenerate race, who are thinking of nothing but their present advantages*; and, *so that they may now support a luxurious and brutal course of irregular and voluptuous practices, they are easily hired to betray their religion, to sell their country, and give up that liberty and those properties, which are the present felicities and glories of this nation*.

He seems to reckon all these evils as matters fully determined on, and therefore falls into the last usual form of despair by threatening the authors of these miseries with *lasting infamy*, and *the curses of posterity upon perfidious betrayers of their trust*.

Let me turn this paragraph into vulgar language for the use of the poor; and strictly adhere to the sense of the words. I believe it may be faithfully translated in the following manner: *the bulk of the clergy and one third of the bishops are stupid sons of whores, who think of nothing but getting money as soon as they can; if they may but procure enough to supply them in gluttony, drunkenness,*

and whoring, they are ready to turn traytors to God and their country, and make their fellow-subjects slaves. The rest of the period about threatening infamy and the curses of posterity upon such dogs and villains may stand as it doth in the bishop's own phrase; and so make the paragraph all of a piece.

I will engage on the other side to paraphrase all the *rogues* and *rascals* in the *englishman*, so as to bring them up exactly to his lordship's style: but for my own part I much prefer the plain *billingsgate* way of calling names, because it expresseth our meaning full as well, and would save abundance of time, which is lost by circumlocution: so, for instance, *John Dunton*, who is retained on the same side with the bishop, calls my *lord Treasurer* and *lord Bolingbroke* traytors, whore-mongers, and jacobites; which three words cost our right reverend author thrice as many lines to define them; and I hope his lordship doth not think there is any difference in point of morality, whether a man calls me *traitor* in one word, or says I am one *hired to betray my religion, and sell my country*.

I am not surprized to see the bishop mention with contempt all convocations of the clergy; for *Toland*, *Asgil*, *Monmouth*, *Collins*, *Tindal*, and others of the fraternity talk the very same language. His lordship confesseth he is *not inclined to expect much from the assemblies of clergymen*. There lies the misfortune; for if he and some more of his order would correct their *inclinations*, a great deal of good might be expected from such assemblies; as much as they are now cramped by that submission, which a corrupt clergy brought upon their innocent successors. He *will not deny that his copiousness in these matters is, in his own opinion, one of the meanest parts of his new work*. I will agree with him, unless he happens to be more *copious* in any thing else. However, it is not easy to conceive, why he should be so *copious* upon a subject he so much despiseth, unless it were to gratify his talent of railing at the *clergy*, in the number of whom he disdains to be reckoned, because

because he is a *bishop*; for it is a style I observe some prelates have fallen into of late years, to talk of clergymen as if themselves were not of the number. You will read in many of their speeches at Dr. *Sacheverel's* trial expressions to this or the like effect: *my lords, if clergymen be suffered, etc.* wherein they seem to have reason; and I am pretty confident, that a great majority of the clergy were heartily inclined to disown any relation they had to the *managers in lawn*. However it was a confounding argument against *presbytery*, that those prelates, who are most suspected to lean that way, treated their inferior brethren with *haughtiness, rigour, and contempt*; although, to say the truth, nothing better could be hoped for; because I believe it may pass for an universal rule, that in every diocese governed by bishops of the *whig* species the clergy (especially the poorer sort) are under double discipline; and the *laity* left to themselves. The opinion of Sir *Thomas Moore*, which he produceth to prove the ill consequences or insignificancy of convocations, advanceth no such thing; but says, *if the clergy assembled often, and might act as other assemblies of clergy in christendom, much good might have come*; but the misfortune lay in their long disuse, and that in his own and a good part of his father's time they never came together, except at the command of the prince.

I suppose his lordship thinks there is some original impediment in the study of divinity, or secret incapacity in a gown and cassock without lawn, which disqualifies all inferior clergymen from debating upon subjects of doctrine or discipline in the church. It is a famous saying of his, *that he looks upon every layman to be an honest man, until he is by experience convinced to the contrary; and on every clergyman as a knave, until he finds him to be an honest man*. What opinion then must we have of a lower house of convocation; where, I am confident, he will hardly find three persons that ever convinced him of their honesty, or will ever be at the pains to do it? Nay I am afraid they would think such a conviction might be no very advantageous bargain, to gain the character of an

an honest man with his lordship, and lose it with the rest of the world.

In the famous *concordate* that was made between *Francis I.* of *France* and pope *Leo X.* the bishop tells us, that *the king and pope came to a bargain, by which they divided the liberties of the gallican church between them, and indeed quite enslaved it.* He intends in the third part of his history, which he is going to publish, to open this whole matter to the world. In the mean time he mentions some ill consequences to the *gallican* church from that *concordate*, which are worthy to be observed: *the church of France became a slave; and this change in their constitution put an end not only to national, but even to provincial synods in that kingdom. The assemblies of the clergy there meet now only to give subsidies, etc.* and he says, *our nation may see by that proceeding, what it is to deliver up the essential liberties of a free constitution to a court.*

All I can gather from this matter is, that our king *Henry* made a better bargain than his cotemporary *Francis*, who divided the liberties of the church between himself and the pope, while the king of *England* seized them all to himself. But how comes he to number the want of synods in the *gallican* church among the grievances of that *concordate*, and as a mark of their slavery, since he reckons all convocations of the clergy in *England* to be useless and dangerous? Or what difference in point of liberty was there between the *gallican* church under *Francis*, and the *english* under *Harry*? For the latter was as much a *papist* as the former, unless in the point of obedience to the see of *Rome*; and in every quality of a good man, or a good prince (except personal courage, wherein both were equal) the *french* monarch had the advantage by as many degrees as is possible for one man to have over another.

Henry VIII. had no manner of intention to change religion in his kingdom; he continued to persecute and burn *protestants*, after he had cast off the *pope's* supremacy; and I suppose his seizure of ecclesiastical revenues (which *Francis* never attempted) cannot be reckoned

reckoned as a mark of the church's *liberty*. By the quotation the bishop sets down to shew the slavery of the *french* church, he represents it as a grievance, that *bishops are not now elected there as formerly, but wholly appointed by the prince; and that those made by the court have been ordinarily the chief advancers of schisms, heresies, and oppressions of the church*. He cites another passage from a *greek* writer, and plainly insinuates, that it is justly applicable to her majesty's reign: *princes chuse such men to that charge (of a bishop) who may be their slaves, and in all things obsequious to what they prescribe, and may lie at their feet, and have not so much as a thought contrary to their commands*.

These are very singular passages for his lordship to set down, in order to shew the dismal consequences of the *french concordate*, by the slavery of the *gallican* church compared with the freedom of ours. I shall not enter into a long dispute, whether it were better for religion, that bishops should be chosen by the clergy, or people, or both together: I believe our author would give his vote for the second (which however would not have been of much advantage to himself, and some others that I could name;) but I ask, whether bishops are any more elected in *England* than in *France*? And the want of synods are, in his own opinion, rather a blessing than a grievance, unless he will affirm, that more good can be expected from a *popish* synod than an *english convocation*. Did the *french* clergy ever receive a greater blow to their liberties than the submission made to *Henry* the eighth; or so great a one as the seizure of their lands? The reformation owed nothing to the good intentions of king *Henry*: he was only an instrument of it (as the logicians speak) by accident; nor doth he appear throughout his whole reign to have had any other views than those of gratifying his insatiable love of power, cruelty, oppression, and other irregular appetites. But this kingdom, as well as many other parts of *Europe*, was at that time generally weary of the corruptions and impositions of the *roman* court and church; and disposed to receive

ceive those doctrines, which *Luther* and his followers had universally spread. *Cranmer* the archbishop, *Cromwell*, and others of the court, did secretly embrace the reformation; and the king's abrogating the *pope's* supremacy made the people in general run into the new doctrine with greater freedom, because they hoped to be supported in it by the *authority* and *example* of their *prince*; who disappointed them so far, that he made no other step, than rejecting the *pope's* supremacy as a clog upon his own power and passions; but retained every corruption besides, and became a cruel persecutor, as well of those who denied his own supremacy, as of all others who professed any *protestant* doctrine. Neither hath any thing disgusted me more in reading the histories of those times, than to see one of the worst princes of any age or country celebratd as an instrument in that glorious work of the reformation.

The bishop, having gone over all the matters that properly fall within his *introduction*, proceeds to expostulate with several sorts of people: first with *protestants*, who are no *Christians*, such as *atheists*, *deists*, *freethinkers*, and the like enemies to christianity: but these he treats with the tenderness of a friend, because they are all of them of sound *whig* principles in church and state. However to do him justice, he lightly toucheth some old topicks for the truth of the gospel; and concludes, by *wishing that the freethinkers would consider well, if* (anglice, whether) *they think it is possible to bring a nation to be without any religion at all; and what the consequences of that may prove; and in case they allow the negative he gives it clearly for christianity.*

Secondly, he applieth himself (if I take his meaning right) to christian papists, *who have a taste of liberty*; and desires them to *compare the absurdity of their own religion with the reasonableness of the reformed*: against which, as good luck would have it, I have nothing to object.

Thirdly, he is somewhat rough against his own party, *who hav-*
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ing tasted the sweets of protestant liberty, can look back so tamely on popery coming on them; it looks as if they were bewitched, or that the devil were in them, to be so negligent. It is not enough, that they resolve not to turn papists themselves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and stupid, to apprehend their danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost industry to guard against it, and to resist it. If after all their endeavours to prevent it, the corruption of the age, and the art and power of our enemies, prove too hard for us; then, and not until then, we must submit to the will of God, and be silent; and prepare our selves for all the extremities of suffering and of misery, with a great deal more of the same strain.

With due submission to the profound sagacity of this prelate, who can smell *popery* at five hundred miles distance, better than *fanaticism* just under his nose, I take leave to tell him, that this reproof to his friends for want of zeal and clamour against *popery*, *slavery*, and the *pretender* is what they have not deserved. Are the pamphlets and papers daily published by the sublime authors of his party full of any thing else? Are not the QUEEN, the ministers, the majority of lords and commons, loudly taxed in print with this charge against them at full length? Is it not the perpetual echo of every *whig* coffee-house and club? Have they not quartered *popery* and the *pretender* upon the peace and treaty of commerce; upon the possessing, and quitting, and keeping, and demolishing of *Dunkirk*? Have they not clamoured, because the *pretender* continued in *France*, and because he left it? Have they not reported that the town swarmed with many thousand *papists*; when upon search there were never found so few of that religion in it before? If a clergyman preacheth obedience to the higher powers, is he not immediately traduced as a *papist*? Can mortal man do more? To deal plainly, my lord, your friends are not strong enough yet to make an insurrection, and it is unreasonable to expect one from them, until their neighbours be ready.

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My lord, I have a little seriousness at heart upon this *point*, where your lordship *affects* to shew so *much*. When you can prove, that one single word hath ever dropt from any minister of state in *publick* or *private* in favour of the *pretender* or his cause; when you can make it appear, that in the course of this administration, since the QUEEN thought fit to change her servants, there hath one step been made towards weakening the *Hanover* title, or giving the least countenance to any other whatsoever; then, and not until then, go dry your *chaff* and *stubble*, give fire to the zeal of your faction, and reproach them with lukewarmness.

Fourthly, the bishop applies himself to the *tories* in general; taking it for granted after his charitable manner, that they are all ready prepared to introduce *popery*. He puts an excuse into their mouths, by which they would endeavour to justify their change of religion: *popery is not what it was before the reformation: things are now much mended, and further corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a treaty with them: in particular, they see the error of proceeding severely with hereticks; so that there is no reason to apprehend the returns of such cruelties, as were practised an age and a half ago.*

This he assures us is a plea offered by the *tories* in defence of themselves for going about at this juncture to establish the *popish* religion among us: what argument doth he bring to prove the fact itself?

Quibus indiciis, quo teste, probavit?

Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit.

Nothing but this tedious *introduction*, wherein he supposeth it all along as a thing granted. That there might be a perfect union in the whole christian church, is a blessing which every good man wisheth, but no reasonable man can hope. That the more polite *roman* catholicks have in several places given up some of their superstitious fopperies, particularly concerning *legends*, *relics*, and the

the like, is what no body denies. But the material points in difference between us and them are universally retained and asserted in all their controversial writings. And if his lordship really thinks that every man, who differs from him under the name of a *tory* in some church and state opinions, is ready to believe *transubstantiation*, *purgatory*, the *infallibility* of pope or councils, to *worship saints* and *angels*, and the like; I can only pray God to enlighten his understanding, or graft in his heart the first principles of charity; a virtue which some *people* ought not by any means wholly to renounce, *because it covereth a multitude of sins*.

Fifthly, the bishop applies himself to his own party in both houses of parliament, whom he exhorts to *guard their religion and liberty against all danger, at what distance soever it may appear. If they are absent and remiss on critical occasions*; that is to say, if they do not attend close next sessions to vote upon all occasions whatever against the proceedings of the QUEEN and her ministry, *or if any views of advantage to themselves prevail on them*: in other words, if any of them vote for the bill of commerce in hopes of a place or a pension, a title or a garter; God *may work a deliverance for us another way*; (that is to say, by inviting the Dutch) *but they and their families, i. e.* those who are negligent, or revolters, *shall perish*; by which is meant they shall be hanged as well as the present ministry and their abettors, as soon as we recover our power; *because they let in idolatry, superstition and tyranny*; because they stood by and suffered the peace to be made, the bill of commerce to pass, and *Dunkirk* to lie undemolished longer than we expected, without raising a rebellion.

His last application is to the *tory* clergy, a parcel of *blind, ignorant, dumb, sleeping, greedy, drunken dogs*. A pretty artful episcopal method is this, of calling his brethren as many injurious names as he pleaseth. It is but quoting a text of scripture, where the characters of evil men are described, and the thing is done; and at the same time the appearances of piety and devotion pre-

served. I would engage, with the help of a good *concordance*, and the liberty of perverting holy writ, to find out as many injurious appellations, as the *Englishman* throws out in any of his politick papers, and apply them to those persons *who call good evil, and evil good*; to those who cry without cause, *every man to his tent, O Israel!* and to those who curse the QUEEN in their hearts!

These decent words, he tells us, make up a *lively description of such pastors as will not study controversy, nor know the depths of Satan*. He means, I suppose, the controversy between us and the *papists*; for as to the *freethinkers* and *dissenters* of every denomination, they are some of the best friends to the cause. Now I have been told, there is a body of that kind of controversy published by the *London* divines, which is not to be matched in the world. I believe likewise, there is a good number of the clergy at present thoroughly versed in that study; after which I cannot but give my judgment, that it would be a very idle thing for pastors in general to busy themselves much in disputes against *popery*; it being a dry heavy employment of the mind at best, especially when, God be thanked, there is so little occasion for it in the generality of parishes throughout the kingdom; and must be daily less and less by the just severity of the laws, and the utter aversion of our people from that idolatrous superstition.

If I might be so bold to name those, who have the honour to be of his lordship's party, I would venture to tell him, that *pastors* have much more occasion to study *controversies* against the several classes of *freethinkers* and *dissenters*: the former (I beg his lordship's pardon for saying so) being a little worse than *papists*, and both of them more dangerous *at present* to our constitution both in church and state. Not that I think *presbytery* so corrupt a system of christian religion as *popery*; I believe it is not above one third as bad: but I think the *presbyterians* and their clans of other *fanatics*, of *freethinkers* and *atheists* that dangle after them, are as well inclined to pull down the present establishment of monarchy
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and religion, as any sett of *papists* in christendom; and therefore that our danger, as things now stand, is infinitely greater from our *protestant* enemies; because they are much more able to ruin us, and full as willing. There is no doubt, but presbytery and a commonwealth are less formidable evils than *popery*, *slavery*, and the *pretender*; for if the *fanaticks* were in power, I should be in more apprehension of being starved than burned. But there are probably in *England* forty *dissenters* of all kinds, including their brethren the *freethinkers*, for one *papist*; and allowing one *papist* to be as *terrible* as three *dissenters*, it will appear by arithmetick that we are thirteen times and one third more in danger of being ruined by the latter than the former.

The other qualification necessary for all pastors, if they will not be *blind*, *ignorant*, *greedy*, *drunken dogs*, etc. is to *know the depths of Satan*. This is harder than the former; that a poor gentleman ought not to be parson, vicar, or curate of a parish, except he be cunninger than the devil. I am afraid it will be difficult to remedy this defect for one manifest reason, because whoever had only half the cunning of the devil would never take up with a vicarage of ten pounds a year *to live on at his ease*, as my lord expresseth it; but seek out for some better livelihood. His lordship is of a nation very much distinguished for that quality of *cunning* (although they have a great many better) and I think he was never accused for wanting his share. However upon a trial of skill, I would venture to lay fix to four on the *devil's* side, who must be allowed to be at least the older *practitioner*. *Telling truth* shames him, and *resistance* makes him fly; but to attempt outwitting him, is to fight him at his own weapon, and consequently no cunning at all. Another thing I would observe is, that a man may be *in the depths of Satan* without knowing them all; and such a man may be so far in *Satan's depths*, as to be out of his own. One of the *depths of Satan* is to *counterfeit an angel of light*. Another I believe is to stir up the people against their governors by
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false suggestions of danger. A third, is to be a *prompter to false brethren*, and to send *wolves* about in *sheep's cloathing*. Sometimes he sends *Jesuits* about *England* in the habit and cant of *fanaticks*; at other times he hath *fanatick* missionaries in the habits of——. I shall mention but one more of *Satan's depths*; for I confess I know not the hundredth part of them; and that is to employ his emissaries in crying out against remote imaginary dangers, by which we may be taken off from defending ourselves against those which are really just at our elbows.

But his lordship draws towards a conclusion, and bids us *look about, to consider the danger we are in before it is too late*; for he assures us, we are already *going into some of the worst parts of popery*; like the man, who was so much in haste for his new coat, that he put it on the wrong side out. *Auricular confession, priestly absolution, and the sacrifice of the mass*, have made great progress in *England*, and no body hath observed it: several other *popish* points are carried higher with us, than by the priests themselves: and somebody it seems had the *impudence to propose an union with the gallican church*. I have indeed heard that Mr. *Lesly* published a discourse to that purpose, which I have never seen; nor do I perceive the evil in *proposing an union* between any two churches in *christendom*. Without doubt Mr. *Lesly* is most unhappily misled in his politicks; but if he be the author of the late * tract against *popery*, he hath given the world such a proof of his soundness in religion, as *many a bishop* ought to be proud of. I never saw the gentleman in my life: I know he is the son of a great and excellent prelate, who upon several accounts was one of the most extraordinary men of his age. Mr. *Lesly* hath written many useful discourses upon several subjects, and hath so well deserved of the christian religion, and the church of *England* in particular, that to accuse him of *impudence for proposing an union* in two very different faiths, is a style which I hope few will imitate. I detest Mr.

* The Case Stated.

Lesly's political principles as much as his lordship can do for his heart; but I verily believe he acts from a mistaken conscience, and therefore I distinguish between the principles and the person. However it is some mortification to me, when I see an *avowed non-juror* contribute more to the confounding of *popery*, than could ever be done by a hundred thousand such *introductions* as this.

His lordship ends with discovering a small ray of comfort. *God be thanked, there are many among us that stand upon the watch-tower, and that give faithful warning; that stand in the breach, and make themselves a wall for their church and country; that cry to God day and night, and lie in the dust mourning before him, to avert those judgments that seem to hasten towards us. They search into the mystery of iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with that mass of corruption that is in popery.* He prays, *That the number of these may increase, and that he may be of that number, ready either to die in peace, or to seal that doctrine he hath been preaching above fifty years with his blood.* This being his last paragraph, I have made bold to transcribe the most important parts of it. His design is to end after the manner of orators, with leaving the strongest impression possible upon the minds of his hearers. A great *breach* is made, *the mystery of popish iniquity is working among us; may God avert those judgments that are hastening towards us; I am an old man, a preacher above fifty years, and I now expect and am ready to die a martyr for the doctrines I have preached. What an amiable idea doth he here leave upon our minds of her majesty and her government! he hath been poring so long upon Fox's book of martyrs, that he imagines himself living in the reign of queen Mary, and is resolved to set up for a knight errant against popery.* Upon the supposition of his being in earnest (which I am sure he is not) it would require but a very little more heat of imagination to make a history of such a knight's adventures. What would he say to behold the *fires kindled in Smithfield, and all over the town,*
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on the seventeenth of *November*; to behold the *pope* borne in triumph on the shoulders of the people, with a *cardinal on the one side and the pretender on the other*? He would never believe it was queen *Elizabeth's* day, but that of her persecuting sister: in short, how easily might a *windmill be taken for the whore of Babylon*, and a *puppet-show* for a popish procession?

But *enthusiasm* is none of his lordship's faculty: I am inclined to believe, he might be melancholy enough, when he writ this *introduction*: the despair at his age of seeing a faction restored, to which he hath sacrificed so great a part of his life: the little success he can hope for in case he should resume those high-church principles in defence of which he first employed his pen: no visible expectation of removing to *Farnham* or *Lambeth*: and lastly, the misfortune of being hated by every one, who either wears the habit or values the profession of a clergyman. No wonder such a spirit, in such a situation, is provoked beyond the regards of truth, decency, religion, or self-conviction. To do him justice, he seems to have nothing else left, but to cry out *halters, gibbets, faggots, inquisition, popery, slavery*, and the *pretender*. But in the mean time, he little considers what a world of mischief he doth to his cause. It is very convenient for the present designs of that faction to spread the opinion of our immediate danger from *popery* and the *pretender*. His directors therefore ought, in my humble opinion, to have employed his lordship in publishing a book, wherein he should have affirmed by the most solemn asseverations, that all things were safe and well; for the world hath contracted so strong a habit of believing him backwards, that I am confident nine parts in ten of those, who have read or heard of his *introduction*, have slept in greater security ever since. It is like the melancholy tone of a watchman at midnight, who thumps with his pole as if some thief were breaking in; but you know by the noise that the door is fast.

However, he *thanks God there are many among us who stand in*
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the breach: I believe they may; it is a *breach* of their own making, and they design to come forward, and storm and plunder, if they be not driven back. *They make themselves a wall for their church and country.* A *south* wall I suppose, for all the best fruit of the *church and country* to be nailed on. Let us examine this metaphor. The *wall of our church and country* is built of those, who love the constitution in both: our domestick enemies undermine some parts of the *wall*, and place themselves in the *breach*, and then they cry, *we are the wall*. We do not like such patch-work; they build with untempered mortar; nor can they ever cement with us, till they get better materials and better workmen. God keep us from having our *breaches* made up with such rubbish. *They stand upon the watch-tower!* they are indeed pragmatical enough to do so; but who assigned them that post to give us false intelligence, to alarm us with false dangers, and send us to defend one gate, while their accomplices are breaking in at another? *They cry to God day and night to avert the judgment of popery, which seems to hasten towards us.* Then I affirm, they are *hypocrites by day, and filthy dreamers by night*: when they cry unto him, *he will not hear them*; for they cry against the plainest dictates of their own conscience, reason, and belief.

But, lastly, *they lie in the dust mourning before him.* Hang me if I believe that, unless it be figuratively spoken. But suppose it to be true, why do *they lie in the dust*? Because they love to *raise* it. For what do *they mourn*? Why, for power, wealth, and places. There let the enemies of the QUEEN, and monarchy and the church *lie and mourn, and lick the dust like serpents*, till they are truly sensible of their ingratitude, falsehood, disobedience, slander, blasphemy, sedition, and every evil work.

I cannot find in my heart to conclude without offering his lordship a little humble advice upon some certain points.

First, I would advise him, if it be not too late in his life, to endeavour a little at mending his style, which is mighty defective

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in the *circumstances* of grammar, propriety, politeness, and smoothness. I fancied at first it might be owing to the prevalence of his passion, as people sputter out nonsense for haste, when they are in a rage. And indeed I believe this piece before me hath received some additional imperfections from that occasion. But whoever hath heard his sermons, or read his other tracts, will find him very unhappy in the choice and disposition of his words, and for want of variety repeating them, especially the particles, in a manner very grating to an *english* ear. But I confine myself to this *introduction*, as his last work, where endeavouring at rhetorical *flowers* he gives us only bunches of *thistles*; of which I could present the reader with a plentiful crop; but I refer him to every page and line of the pamphlet itself.

Secondly, I would most humbly advise his lordship to examine a little into the nature of truth, and sometimes to hear what *she* says. I shall produce two instances among an hundred. When he asserts, that we are *now in more danger of popery than towards the end of king Charles the second's reign*; and gives the broadest hints, that the QUEEN, the ministry, the parliament, and the clergy, are just going to introduce it; I desire to know whether he really thinks *truth* is of his side, or whether he be not sure *she* is against him? If the latter, then *truth* and he will be found in two different stories, and which are we to believe? Again, when he gravely advises the *tories* not to *light the fires in Smithfield*, and goes on in twenty places already quoted, as if the bargain was made for *popery* and *slavery* to enter; I ask again whether he hath rightly considered the nature of *truth*? I desire to put a parallel case. Suppose his lordship should take it into his fancy to write and publish a letter to any gentleman of no infamous character for his religion or morals; and there advise him with great earnestness not to rob or fire churches, ravish his daughter, or murder his father; shew him the sin and the danger of these enormities; that if he flattered himself he could escape in disguise, or bribe his jury, he

he was grievously mistaken; that he must in all probability forfeit his goods and chattels, die an ignominious death, and be curst by posterity: would not such a gentleman justly think himself highly injured, although his lordship did not affirm, that the said gentleman had picklocks or combustibles ready; that he had attempted his daughter, and drawn his sword against his father in order to stab him? whereas, in the other case, this writer affirms over and over, that all attempts for introducing *popery* and *slavery* are already made, the whole business concerted, and that little less than a miracle can prevent our ruin.

Thirdly, I could heartily wish his lordship would not undertake to charge the opinions of one or two, and those probably *nonjurors*, upon the whole body of the nation that differs from him. Mr. Lesly writ a *proposal for an union with the gallican church*: somebody else hath *carried the necessity of priesthood in the point of baptism, farther than popery*: a third hath *asserted the independency of the church on the state, and in many things arraigned the supremacy of the crown*; then he speaks in a dubious insinuating way, as if some other *popish* tenets had been already advanced: and at last concludes in this affected strain of despondency; *What will all these things end in? And on what design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible!* it is as clear as the sun, that these authors are encouraged by the *ministry* with a design to bring in *popery*; and in *popery* all these things will end.

I never was so uncharitable to believe, that the whole *party*, of which his lordship professeth himself a member, had a real formed design of establishing *atheism* among us. The reason why the *whigs* have taken the *atheists* or *freethinkers* into their body is, because they wholly agree in their political schemes, and differ very little in church power and discipline. However, I could turn the argument against his lordship with very great advantage by quoting passages from fifty pamphlets wholly made up of *whiggism* and *atheism*, and then conclude, *what will all these things end in?*

And on what design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible!

Lastly, I would beg his lordship not to be so exceedingly outrageous upon the memory of the dead; because it is highly probable, that in a very short time he will be one of the number. He hath in plain words given Mr. *Wharton* the character of a most malicious, revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary villain. To which I shall only say, that the direct reverse of this amiable description is what appears from the works of that most learned divine, and from the accounts given me by those, who knew him much better than the bishop seems to have done. I meddle not with the moral part of this treatment. God Almighty forgive his lordship this manner of revenging himself; and then there will be but little consequence from an accusation, which the *dead* cannot *feel*, and which none of the *living* will *believe*.

SOME
A R G U M E N T S

Against ENLARGING the
P O W E R O F B I S H O P S
I N L E T T I N G O F L E A S E S.

*Mibi credite, major hæreditas venit unicuique vestrum in iisdem bonis a jure
et a legibus, quem ab iis a quibus illa bona relieta sunt.*

Cicero pro A. Cæcina.

Written in the Year 1723.

That the power of the Bishop is not to be exercised in a manner which is inconsistent with the rights of the people, and that the power of the people is not to be exercised in a manner which is inconsistent with the rights of the Bishop.

SOME OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BISHOP'S POWER

ARGUMENTS

Against the Power of the Bishop

POWER OF BISHOPS

IN LETTING OF LEASES

Mibi credit, major hereditas venit unicuique respectu in istis locis a jure
et a legibus, quoniam ad ista quibus illa bona tributa sunt.
Cicero pro A. Caelina.

Written in the Year 1723.

ARGUMENTS

Against ENLARGING the POWER OF BISHOPS, etc.

Written in the Year 1723. *

IN handling this subject I shall proceed wholly upon the supposition, that those of *our party*, who profess themselves members of the church established, and under the apostolical government of bishops, do desire the continuance and transmission of it to posterity at least in as good a condition as it is at present: because, as this discourse is not calculated for dissenters of any kind, so neither will it suit the talk or sentiments of those persons, who with the denomination of churchmen are oppressors of the inferior clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the bishops; which is a traditional cant delivered down from former times, and continued with great reason, although it be now near 200 years since almost three parts in four of the church revenues have been taken from the clergy, besides the spoils that have been gradually made ever since of glebes and other lands by the confusion of times, the fraud of encroaching neighbours, or the power of oppressors too great to be encountred.

About the time of the reformation many *popish* bishops of this kingdom, knowing they must have been soon ejected if they

* The general subject of this pamphlet leads me to recollect a circumstance much to the dean's honour; he could never be induced to take fines for any of the chapter lands; he always chose to raise the rents, as the method least oppressive to the present tenant, and most advantageous to all future tenants and landlords.

ORRERY.
would

would not change their religion, made long leases and fee-farms of great part of their lands, reserving very inconsiderable rents, sometimes only a chiefry, by a power they assumed directly contrary to many antient canons, yet consistent enough with the common law. This trade held on for many years after the bishops became protestants; and some of their names are still remembered with infamy on account of enriching their families by such sacrilegious alienations. By these means episcopal revenues were so low reduced, that three or four sees were often united to make a tolerable competency. For some remedy to this evil king *James* the first by a bounty, that became a good christian prince, bestowed several forfeited lands on the *northern* bishopricks: but in all other parts of the kingdom the church continued still in the same distress and poverty; some of the sees hardly possessing enough to maintain a country vicar. About the middle of king *Charles* the first's reign the legislature here thought fit to put a stop at least to any farther alienations; and so a law was enacted, prohibiting all bishops and other ecclesiastical corporations from setting their lands for above the term of twenty one years; the rent reserved to be one half of the real value of such lands at the time they were set, without which condition the lease to be void.

Soon after the restoration of king *Charles* the second the parliament taking into consideration the miserable estate of the church, certain lands by way of augmentation were granted to eight bishops in the act of settlement, and confirmed in the act of explanation; of which bounty, as I remember, three sees were in a great measure defeated; but by what accidents it is not here of any importance to relate.

This at present is the condition of the church in *Ireland* with regard to episcopal revenues: which I have thus briefly (and perhaps imperfectly) deduced for some information to those, whose thoughts do not lead them to such considerations.

By virtue of the statute already mentioned, under king *Charles* the

the first, limiting ecclesiastical bodies to the term of twenty-one years under the reserved rent of half real value, the bishops have had some share in the gradual rise of lands, without which they could not have been supported with any common decency that might become their station. It is above eighty years since the passing of that act: the see of *Meath*, one of the best in the kingdom, was then worth about 400 *l. per annum*; the poorer ones in the same proportion. If this were their present condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents, or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their successors, if such a bill should pass, as they say is now intended, which I will suppose; and believe many persons, who may give a vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at least eluded; some are for giving bishops leave to let fee-farms, others would allow them to let leases for lives; and the most moderate would repeal that clause, by which the bishops are bound to let their lands at half value.

The reasons for the rise of value in lands are of two kinds. Of the first kind, are long peace and settlement after the devastations of war; plantations, improvements of bad soil, recovery of bogs and marshes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increase of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reason for the rise of land, more gradual, constant and certain; which will have its effects in countries, that are very far from flourishing in any of the advantages I have just mentioned: I mean *the perpetual decrease in the value of gold and silver*. I shall discourse upon these two different kinds with a view towards the bill now attempted.

As to the first: I cannot see how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four parts in five of the plantations for 30 years past have been real dis-improvements; nine in ten of the quickset-hedges being ruined for want of care or skill. And as to

forest trees, they being often taken out of woods, and planted in single rows on the tops of ditches, it is impossible they should grow to be of use, beauty, or shelter. Neither can it be said, that the soil of *Ireland* is improved to its full height, while so much lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almost desperate by the ill cutting of the turf. There hath indeed been some little improvement in the manufactures of linen and woollen, although very short of perfection; but our trade was never in so low a condition: and as to agriculture, of which all wise nations have been so tender, the desolation made in the country by engrossing graziers, and the great yearly importation of corn from *England*, are lamentable instances under what discouragement it lies.

But, notwithstanding all these mortifications, I suppose there is no well-wisher to his country without a little hope, that in time the kingdom may be on a better foot in some of the articles above mentioned. But it would be hard, if ecclesiastical bodies should be the only persons excluded from any share in publick advantages, which yet can never happen, without a greater share of profit to their tenants: if God *sends rain equally upon the just and the unjust*, why should those, who wait at his altars, and are instructors of the people, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But, as this way of reasoning may seem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy, than perhaps will suit with the present disposition or fashion of the age; I shall therefore dwell more largely upon the second reason for the rise of land, which is *the perpetual decrease of the value of gold and silver*.

This may be observed from the course of the *roman* history above two thousand years before those inexhaustible silver mines of *Potosi* were known. The value of an *aureus* and of every other coin between the time of *Romulus* and that of *Augustus* gradually sunk above five parts in six, as appears by several passages out of the best authors. And yet, the prodigious wealth of that state did not

not arise from the increase of bullion in the world by the discovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental cause, which was the spreading of their conquest, and thereby importing into *Rome* and *Italy* the riches of the *east* and *west*.

When the seat of empire was removed to *Constantinople*, the tide of money flowed that way without ever returning; and was scattered in *Asia*. But when that mighty empire was overthrown by the *northern* people, such a stop was put to all trade and commerce, that vast sums of money were buried to escape the plundering of the conquerors; and what remained was carried off by those ravagers.

It were no difficult matter to compute the value of money in *England* during the *Saxon* reigns; but the monkish and other writers since the conquest have put that matter in a clearer light, by the several accounts they have given us of the value of corn and cattle in years of dearth and plenty. Every one knows, that king *John's* whole portion, before he came to the crown, was but five thousand pounds, without a foot of land.

I have likewise seen the steward's accounts of an ancient noble family in *England* written in *latin* between three and four hundred years ago, with the several prices of wine and victuals, to confirm my observations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as others have done) the different values of money for about four hundred years past. *Henry* duke of *Lancaster*, who lived about that period, founded an hospital in *Leicester* for a certain number of old men, charging his lands with a groat a week to each for their maintenance, which is to this day duly paid them. In those times, a penny was equal to ten pence half-penny, and somewhat more than half a farthing in ours; which makes about eight ninths difference.

This is plain also from the old custom upon many estates in *England* to let for leases of lives, (renewable at pleasure) where

the reserved rent is usually about twelve pence a pound, which then was near the half real value: and although the fines be not fixed, yet the landlord gets all together not above three shillings in the pound of the worth of his land: and the tenants are so wedded to this custom, that, if the owner suffer three lives to expire, none of them will take a lease on other conditions; or if he brings in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reasonable rent, the other tenants by all manner of injuries will make that foreigner so uneasy, that he must be forced to quit the farm; as the late earl of *Bath* felt by the experience of above ten thousand pounds loss.

The gradual decrease for about two hundred years after was not considerable, and therefore I do not rely on the account given by some historians, that *Harry* the seventh left behind him eighteen hundred thousand pounds; for although the *West-Indies* were discovered before his death, and although he had the best talents and instruments for exacting of money ever possessed by any prince since the time of *Vespasian* (whom he resembled in many particulars) yet I conceive, that in his days the whole coin of *England* could hardly amount to such a sum. For in the reign of *Philip* and *Mary*, Sir——*Cockain* of *Derbyshire*, the best house-keeper of his quality in the county, allowed his lady fifty pounds a year for maintaining the family, one pound a year wages to each servant, and two pounds to the steward; as I was told by a person of quality who had seen the original account of his economy. Now this sum of fifty pounds, added to the advantages of a large domain, might be equal to about five hundred pounds a year at present, or somewhat more than four *fiftbs.*

The great plenty of silver in *England* began in queen *Elizabeth's* reign, when *Drake* and others took vast quantities of coin and bullion from the *Spaniards* either upon their own *American* coasts, or in their return to *Spain*. However so much hath been imported annually from that time to this, that the value of money in *England*, and most parts of *Europe*, is sunk above one half within

within the space of an hundred years, notwithstanding the great export of silver for about eighty years past to the *East-Indies*, from whence it never returns. But gold not being liable to the same accident, and by new discoveries growing every day more plentiful, seems in danger of becoming a drug.

This hath been the progress of the value of money in former ages, and must of necessity continue so for the future, without some new invasion of *Goths* and *Vandals* to destroy law, property and religion, alter the very face of nature, and turn the world upside down.

I must repeat, that what I am to say upon the subject is intended only for the conviction of those among our *own party*, who are true lovers of the church, and would be glad it should continue in a tolerable degree of prosperity to the end of the world.

The church is supposed to last for ever both in its discipline and doctrine; which is a privilege common to every petty corporation, who must likewise observe the laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's estate, which now yields him a thousand pounds a year, had been set for ever at the highest value even in the flourishing days of king *Charles* the second, would it now amount to above four or five hundred at most? What if this had happened two or three hundred years ago; would the reserved rent at this day be any more than a small chiefry? Suppose the revenues of a bishop to have been under the same circumstances; could he now be able to perform works of hospitality and charity? Thus, if the revenues of a bishop be limited to a thousand pounds a year; how will his successor be in a condition to support his station with decency, when the same denomination of money shall not answer an half, a quarter, or an eighth part of that sum? Which must unavoidably be the consequence of any bill to elude the limiting act, whereby the church was preserved from utter ruin.

The same reason holds good in all corporations whatsoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious practice than that of granting

ing perpetuities, for which many of them smart to this day; although the leaders among them are often so stupid as not to perceive it, or sometimes so knavish as to find their private account in cheating the community.

Several colleges in *Oxford* were aware of this growing evil about an hundred years ago; and instead of limiting their rents to a certain sum of money, prevailed with their tenants to pay the price of so many barrels of corn to be valued as the market went at two seasons (as I remember) in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real intrinick value, which gold and silver are not: and by this invention these colleges have preserved a tolerable subsistence for their fellows and students to this day.

The present bishops will indeed be no sufferers by such a bill; because, their ages considered, they cannot expect to see any great decrease in the value of money; or at worst they can make it up in the fines, which will probably be greater than usual upon the change of leases into fee-farms or lives; or without the power of obliging their tenants to a real half value. And, as I cannot well blame them for taking such advantages, (considering the nature of human kind) when the question is only, whether the money shall be put into their own or another man's pocket: so they will never be excusable before God or man, if they do not to their death oppose, declare, and protest against any such bill, as must in its consequences compleat the ruin of the church, and of their own order in this kingdom.

If the fortune of a private person be diminished by the weakness, or inadvertency of his ancestors, in letting leases for ever at low rents, the world lies open to his industry for purchasing of more; but the church is barred by a *dead hand*; or if it were otherwise, yet the custom of making bequests to it hath been out of practice for almost two hundred years, and a great deal directly contrary hath been its fortune.

I have been assured by a person of some consequence, to whom
I am

I am likewise obliged for the account of some other facts already related, that the late * bishop of *Salisbury* (the greatest *whig* of that bench in his days) confessed to him, that the liberty which bishops in *England* have of letting leases for lives would, in his opinion, be one day the ruin of episcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation act.

And have we not already found the effect of this different proceeding in both kingdoms? Have not two *english* prelates quitted their peerage and seats in parliament, in a nation of freedom, for the sake of a more ample revenue even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under the mortification of living below their dignity at home? for which however they cannot be justly censured. I know indeed some persons, who offer as an argument for repealing the limiting bill, that it may in future ages prevent the practice of providing this kingdom with bishops from *England*, when the only temptation will be removed. And they alledge, that, as things have gone for some years past, gentlemen will grow discouraged from sending their sons to the university, and from suffering them to enter into holy orders, when they are likely to languish under a curacy or small vicarage to the end of their lives: but this is all a vain imagination; for the decrease in the value of money will equally affect both kingdoms: and besides, when bishopricks here grow too small to invite over men of credit and consequence, they will be left more fully to the disposal of a chief governor, who can never fail of some worthless illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence. Thus will that whole bench in an age or two be composed of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble suplicants and dependents upon the court for a morsel of bread, and ready to serve every turn that shall be demanded from them in hopes of getting some *commendam* tacked to their sees; which must then be the trade, as it is now too much in *England*, to the great discouragement of the inferior clergy. Neither is that practice without example among us.

* Dr. Burnet.

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It is now about eighty-five years since the passing of that limiting act, and there is but one instance in the memory of man of a bishop's lease broken upon the plea of not being statutable; which, in every body's opinion, could have been lost by no other person than he, who was then tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his county. In the present * bishop of *Meath's* case that plea did not avail, although the lease were notoriously unstatutable; the rent reserved being, as I have been told, not a seventh part of the real value; yet the jury upon their oaths *very gravely* found it to be according to the statute; and one of them was heard to say, that he would *eat his shoes* before he would give a verdict for the bishop. A very few more have made the same attempt with as little success. Every bishop and other ecclesiastical body reckon forty pounds in an hundred to be a reasonable half value; or if it be only a third part, it seldom or never breeds any difference between landlord and tenant. But when the rent is from five to nine or ten parts less than the worth, the bishop, if he consults the good of his see, will be apt to expostulate; and the tenant, if he be an honest man, will have some regard to the reasonableness and justice of the demand, so as to yield to a moderate advancement, rather than engage in a suit, where law and equity are directly against him. By these means the bishops have been so true to their trusts, as to procure some small share in the advancement of rents; although it be notorious, that they do not receive the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the publick by one or two thousand pounds a year in the hands of a protestant bishop, any more than of a lay person †. The former, generally speaking, liveth as piously and hospitably as the

* Dr. Evans, a *Welshman*.

† This part of the paragraph is to be applied to the period when the whole was written, which was in 1723, when several of queen Anne's bishops were living.

other;

other; pays his debts as honestly, and spends as much of his revenue among his tenants: besides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may distinguish them at first sight by their habits and horses; or if you go to their houses, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that such immediate tenants generally speaking have others under them, and so a third and fourth in subordination, till it comes to the *welder* (as they call him) who sits at a rack-rent, and lives as miserably as an *irish* farmer upon a new lease from a lay landlord. But suppose a bishop happens to be avaricious, (as being composed of the same stuff with other men) the consequence to the publick is no worse than if he were a squire; for he leaves his fortune to his son or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the church.

And as there can be no disadvantage to the publick in a protestant country, that a man should hold lands as a *bishop*, any more than if he were a *temporal* person; so it is of great advantage to the community, where a bishop lives as he ought to do. He is bound in conscience to reside in his diocese, and by a solemn promise to keep hospitality; his estate is spent in the kingdom, not remitted to *England*; he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an example of virtue both to them and the people. Suppose him an ill man; yet his very character will withhold him from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it must be allowed, that some bishops of this kingdom within twenty years past have done very signal and lasting acts of publick charity; great instances whereof are the * late and † present primate, and the lord ‡ archbishop of *Dublin* that now is, who hath left memorials of his bounty in many parts of his province. I might add the bishop of § *Raphoe*, and several others: not forgetting the late dean of *Down*, Dr. *Pratt*, who bestowed one thousand pounds upon the university; which foundation, (that I may observe by the way) if the bill proposed should pass, would be in the same circumstances with the

* Dr. *Marsh*. † Dr. *Lindsay*. ‡ Dr. *King*. § Dr. *Foster*.
C c bishops,

bishops, not ever able again to advance the stipends of the fellows and students, as lately they found it necessary to do; the determinate sum appointed by the statutes for commons being not half sufficient by the fall of money to afford necessary sustenance. But the passing of such a bill must put an end to all ecclesiastical beneficence for the time to come; and whether this will be supplied by those who are to reap the benefit, better than it hath been done by the grantees of impropriate tythes, who received them upon the old church conditions of keeping hospitality, it will be easy to conjecture.

To alledge, that passing such a bill would be a good encouragement to improve bishops lands, is a great error. Is it not the general method of landlords to wait the expiration of a lease, and then cant their lands to the highest bidder? And what should hinder the same course to be taken in church leases, when the limitation is removed of paying half the real value to the bishop? In riding through the country how few improvements do we see upon the estates of laymen, farther than about their own domains? To say the truth, it is a great misfortune as well to the publick as to the bishops themselves, that their lands are generally let to lords and great squires, who in reason were never designed to be tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the payment of rent, as a subserviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the church were honest farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with chearfulness, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half value for what they held. I have heard a man of a thousand pounds a year talk with great contempt of bishops leases, as being on a worse foot than the rest of his estate; and he had certainly reason: my answer was, that such leases were originally intended only for the benefit of industrious husbandmen, who would think it a great blessing to be so provided for, instead of having his farm screwed up to the heighth, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find shoes for his children. I know

I know not any advantage that can accrue by such a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jurymen, and false dealing in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to an highwayman, before he attempts to take it by force; and so I shall be sure to prevent the sin of robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have made an end; when a bookseller sent me a small pamphlet, entitled, *The case of the laity, with some queries*; full of the strongest malice against the clergy, that I have any where met with since the reign of *Toland*, and others of that tribe. These kinds of advocates do infinite mischief to OUR GOOD CAUSE by giving grounds to the unjust reproaches of *TORIES* and *JACOBITES*, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned loyalty to his majesty king *GEORGE* and the house of *Hanover*, not shaken in the least by the hardships we lie under, which never can be imputable to so gracious a prince; if I sincerely abjure the *PRE-TENDER*, and all *POPISH SUCCESSORS*; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late king *WILLIAM*, who preserved these kingdoms from *POPERY* and *SLAVERY* with the expence of his blood, and hazard of his life; and lastly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all *dissenters*, I think nothing more can be reasonably demanded of *me* as a *WHIG*, and that my political catechism is full and complete. But whoever, under the shelter of that party denomination, and of many great professions of loyalty, would destroy, or undermine, or injure the *CHURCH* established; I utterly disown him, and think he ought to chuse another name of distinction for himself and his adherents. I came into the cause upon other principles, which by the grace of God I mean to preserve as long as I live. Shall we justify the accusations of our adversaries? *Hoc itabacus velit.*—The *TORIES* and *JACOBITES* will behold us, with a malicious pleasure, determined upon the ruin of our *friends*. For is not the present set of bishops almost entirely of that number, as well as a great majority of the principal clergy?

gy? And a short time will reduce the whole by vacancies upon death.

An impartial reader, if he pleases to examine what I have already said, will easily answer the bold *queries* in the pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that *the reason still strongly exists, for which* that limiting law was enacted. A reasonable man will wonder, where can be *the insufferable grievance*, that an *ecclesiastical* landlord should expect a moderate or a third part value in rent for his lands, when his title is *at least* as ancient and as legal as that of a layman; who is yet but seldom guilty of giving such beneficial bargains. Has *the nation been thrown into confusion?* And have *many poor families been ruined* by rack-rents paid for the lands of the church? does *the nation cry out* to have a law that must in time send their bishops a begging? But, God be thanked, the clamours of enemies to the church is not yet the *cry*, and I hope will never prove the *voice* of the nation. The clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that *the people maintain them*, any more than in the sense that all landlords whatsoever are maintained by the people. Such assertions as these, and the insinuations they carry along with them, proceed from principles which cannot be avowed by those, who are for preserving the happy *constitution in church and state*. Whoever were the proposers of such *queries*, it might have provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhaps with more justice than prudence, by shewing at whose door the grievance lies, and that the bishops *at least* are not to answer for the poverty of tenants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges the *episcopal* rent-roll almost one half, let me suppose that all the church lands in the kingdom were thrown up to the laity; would the tenants in such a case sit easier in their rents than they do now? Or, would the money be equally spent in the kingdom? No; the farmer would be screwed up to the utmost penny by the agents and stewards of *absentees*, and the revenues employed in making a figure

gure at *London*; to which city a full third part of the whole *income* of *Ireland* is annually returned, to answer that single *article* of *maintenance* for *irish* landlords.

Another of his quarrels is against *pluralities* and *non-residence*: as to the former, it is a word of ill name, but not well understood. The clergy having been stripped of the greatest part of their revenues, the *glebes* being generally lost, the *tythes* in the hands of laymen, the churches demolished, and the country depopulated; in order to preserve a face of *christianity*, it was necessary to unite small *vicarages* sufficient to make a tolerable maintenance for a *minister*. The profit of ten or a dozen of these *unions* seldom amounts to above eighty or an hundred pounds a year. If there be a very few *dignitaries*, whose preferments are perhaps more liable to this accusation, it is to be supposed, they may be *favourites of the time*; or persons of *superior* merit, for whom there hath ever been some indulgence in all governments.

As to *non-residence*, I believe there is no christian country upon earth, where the clergy have less to answer for upon that *article*. I am confident there are not ten clergymen in the kingdom, who properly speaking can be termed *non-residents*: for surely we are not to reckon in that number those, who for want of *glebes* are forced to retire to the nearest neighbouring village for a *cabbin* to put their heads in; the leading man of the parish, when he makes the greatest clamour, being least disposed to accommodate the *minister* with an acre of ground. And indeed, considering the *difficulties* the clergy lie under upon this head, it hath been frequent matter of wonder to me, how they are able to perform that part of their duty so well as they do.

There is a * noble author, who hath lately addressed to the house of COMMONS an excellent discourse for the *encouragement of agriculture*; full of most useful *hints*, which I hope that honourable assembly will consider as they deserve. I am not a

* The late lord Moleworth.

stranger

stranger to his lordship; and excepting in what relates to the church, there are few persons with whose opinions I am better pleased to agree; and am therefore grieved when I find him charging the inconveniencies in the payment of *tythes* upon the *clergy* and their *proctors*. His lordship is above considering a very known and vulgar truth, that the meanest farmer hath all manner of advantages against the most *powerful* clergyman, by whom it is impossible he can be wronged, although the *minister* were ever so evil disposed; the whole system of *teizing*, *perplexing*, and *defrauding* the *proctor*, or his *master*, being as well known to every *plowman*, as the reaping or sowing of his corn, and much more artfully practised. Besides, the leading man in the parish must have his *tythes* at his own rate, which is hardly ever above one quarter of the value. And I have heard it computed by many skilful observers, whose interest was not concerned, that the clergy did not receive throughout the kingdom one half of what the laws have made their due.

As to his lordship's discontent against the *bishops-court*, I shall not interpose farther than in venturing my private opinion, that the clergy would be very glad to recover their just *dues* by a more *short*, *decisive*, and *compulsive* method, than such a cramped and limited jurisdiction will allow.

His lordship is not the only person disposed to give the clergy the honour of being the *sole* encouragers of all new improvements. If *hops*, *hemp*, *flax*, and twenty *things* more are to be planted, the clergy *alone* must reward the industrious farmer by abatement of the *tythe*. What if the owner of nine parts in ten would please to abate proportionably in his rent for every acre thus improved? Would not a man just dropt from the clouds, upon a full hearing, judge the demand to be at least as reasonable?

I believe no man will dispute his lordship's title to his estate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of *tythes*, which he mentions with some emotion. I suppose the affirmative would be of little advantage to the

the clergy, for the same reason that a *maxim* in law hath more weight in the world, than an *article* of faith. And yet I think there may be such a thing as *sacrilege*; because it is frequently mentioned by *greek* and *roman* authors, as well as described in *holy writ*. This I am sure of; that his lordship would at any time excuse a PARLIAMENT for not concerning itself in his properties without his own consent.

The observations I have made upon his lordship's discourse, have not I confess been altogether proper to my subject: however, since he hath been pleased therein to offer some propofals to the house of commons with relation to the clergy, I hope he will excuse me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own principle, the desire of defending *liberty* and *property*, that he hath so strenuously and constantly maintained.

But the other writer openly declares for a law impowering the bishops to set *fee-farms*; and says, *Whoever intimates, that they will deny their consent to such a reasonable law, which the whole nation cries for, are enemies to them and the church*. Whether this be his real opinion, or only a strain of mirth and irony, the matter is not much. However, my sentiments are so directly contrary to his, that, I think, whoever impartially reads and considers what I have written upon this argument, hath either no regard for the church established under the hierarchy of bishops, or will never consent to any law, that shall repeal or elude the limiting clause relating to the real half value, contained in the act of parliament *decimo Caroli*, *For the preservation of the inheritance, rights and profits of lands belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical*; which was grounded upon reasons, that do still and must for ever subsist.

October 21,

1723.

THE POWERS OF THE BISHOPS.

PRESBYTERIANS
PLEA OF MERIT

In order to take off the
TEST
IMPARTIALLY EXAMINED.

Written in the Year 1731. *

WE have been told in the common news papers, that all attempts are to be made this session by the *presbyterians* and their abettors for taking off the test; as a kind of preparatory step to make it go down smoother in *England*. For if once *their light would so shine*, the *papists* delighted with the blaze would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a discreet physician, who first gives a new medicine to a *dog*, before he prescribes it to a human creature.

The *presbyterians* have, ever since the revolution, directed their learned casuists to employ their pens on this subject by shewing the merits and pretensions, upon which they claim this *justice*, as founded upon the services they did towards the restoration of king *Charles the second*, and at the *revolution* under the prince of *Orange*. Which pleas I take to be the most singular in their kind,

* See a letter on this subject Vol. III. which was reprinted in *Ireland* on the same occasion that produced this and the three following tracts.

that

that ever were offered in the face of the sun against the most glaring lights of truth, and against a continuation of publick facts known to all *Europe* for twenty years together. I shall therefore impartially examine the merits and conduct of the *presbyterians* upon those two great events; and the pretensions to favour, which they challenge upon them.

Soon after the reformation of the church in *England* under *Edward* the sixth, upon queen *Mary's* succeeding to the crown (who restored *popery*) many *protestants* fled out of *England* to escape the persecution raised against the church, as her brother had left it established. Some of these exiles went to *Geneva*; which city had received the doctrine of *Calvin*, and rejected the government of bishops; with many other refinements. These *english* exiles readily embraced the *Geneva* system; and having added further improvements of their own, upon queen *Mary's* death returned to *England*; where they preached up their new opinions, inveighing bitterly against *episcopacy*, and all rites and ceremonies, however innocent and ancient in the church: building upon this foundation; to run as far as possible from *popery* even in the most minute and indifferent circumstances. This faction, under the name of *puritan*, became very turbulent during the whole reign of queen *Elizabeth*, and were always discouraged by that wise queen, as well as by her two successors. However, their numbers as well as their insolence and perverseness so far increased, that soon after the death of king *James* the first many instances of their petulancy and scurrility are to be seen in their pamphlets written for some years after (which was a trade they began in the days of queen *Elizabeth*) particularly with great rancour against the bishops, the habits, and the ceremonies: such were those scurrilous libels under the title of *Martin Mar-prelate*, and several others. And although the earl of *Clarendon* tells us, until the year 1640 (as I remember) the kingdom was in a state of perfect peace and happiness, without the least appearance of thought or design

towards making any alterations in religion or government; yet I have found, by often rumaging for old books in *Little Britain* and *Duck-lane*, a great number of pamphlets printed from the year 1630 to 1640 full of as bold and impious railing expressions against the lawful power of the crown, and the order of bishops, as ever were uttered during the rebellion or the whole subsequent tyranny of that fanatick anarchy. However I find it manifest, that *puritanism* did not erect itself into a new separate species of religion till some time after the rebellion began. For in the latter times of king *James* the first, and the former part of his son, there were several *puritan* bishops, and many *puritan* private clergymen; while people went as their inclinations led them to hear preachers of each party in the parish churches, for the *puritan* clergy had received episcopal orders as well as the rest. But soon after the rebellion broke out the term *puritan* gradually dropt, and that of *presbyterian* succeeded; which sect was in two or three years established in all its forms, by what they called an ordinance of the lords and commons, without consulting the king, who was then at war against his rebels. And from this period the church continued under persecution, until monarchy was restored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after we began to hear of a new party risen, and growing in the parliament as well as the army, under the name of *independent*: it spread indeed somewhat more in the latter; but not equal with the *presbyterians* either in weight or number, until the very time the king was murdered.

When the king, who was then a prisoner in the isle of *Wight*, had made his last concessions for a peace to the commissioners of the parliament, who attended him there; upon their return to *London* they reported his majesty's answer in the house. Whereupon a number of moderate members, who, as *Ludlow* says, had secured their own terms with that prince, managed with so much art as to obtain a majority in a thin house for passing a vote, that
the

the king's concessions were a ground for a future settlement. But the great officers of the army joining with the discontented members came to a resolution of excluding all those, who had consented to that vote; which they executed in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the general, a rigid *presbyterian*, of this resolution; who thereupon issued his orders for drawing out the army the next morning, and placing guards in *Westminster-hall*, the *court of requests*, and the *lobby*; who, in obedience to the general in conjunction with those members who had opposed the vote, would let no member enter the house except those of their own party. Upon which the question for bringing the king to justice was immediately put, and carried without opposition that I can find. Then an order was made for his trial; the time and place appointed; the judges named, of whom Fairfax himself was one; although by the advice or threats of his wife he declined sitting among them. However, by fresh orders under his own hand, which I have seen in print, he appointed guards to attend the judges at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did likewise to prevent any opposition from the people upon the day of execution.

From what I have already deduced it appears manifest, that the differences between those two sects, *presbyterian* and *independent*, did not then amount to half so much as what there is between a *whig* and *tory* at present among us. The design of utterly extirpating monarchy and episcopacy was equally the same in both; evidently the consequence of the very same principles, upon which the *presbyterians* alone began, continued, and would have ended in the same events; if towards the conclusion they had not been bearded by that new party, with whom they could not agree about dividing the spoil. However, they held a good share of civil and military employments during the whole time of the usurpation; and their names, actions and preferments are frequent in the accounts of those times. For I make no doubt, that all the prudent *presby-*

terians complied in proper seasons, falling in with the stream; and thereby got that share in employments, which many of them held to the restoration; and perhaps too many of them after. In the same manner we find our wisest *tories* in both kingdoms, upon the change of hands and measures at the queen's death, have endeavoured for several years by due compliances to recover the time they had lost by a temporary obstinacy; wherein they have well succeeded, according to their degrees of merit; of whose names I could here make honourable mention, if I did not fear it might offend their modesty. As to what is alledged, that some of the *presbyterians* declared openly against the king's murder; I allow it to be true. But from what motives? No other can possibly be assigned than perfect spight, rage, and envy, to find themselves wormed out of all power by a new infant spawn of *independents* sprung from their own bowels. It is true, the differences in religious tenets between them are very few and trifling; the chief quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational and national assemblies. But wherever interest or power think fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the opposite parties think fit to charge upon each other: for we see at this day, that the *tories* are more hated by the whole set of zealous *whigs*, than the very *papists* themselves; and in effect as much unqualified for the smallest office: although both these parties assert themselves to be of the same religion in all its branches of doctrine and discipline; and profess the same loyalty to the same *protestant* king and his heirs.

If the reader would know what became of this *independent* party, upon whom all the mischief is charged by their *presbyterian* brethren, he may please to observe, that during the whole usurpation they contended by degrees with their parent sect, and as I have already said, shared in employments; and gradually, after the restoration, mingled with the mass of *presbyterians*; lying ever since undistinguished in the herd of *dissenters*.

The *presbyterian* merit is of as little weight, when they alledge themselves

themselves instrumental towards the king's restoration. The kingdom grew tired with those ridiculous models of government: first by a house of lords and commons without a king; then without bishops; afterwards by a rump* and lords temporal; then by a rump alone; next by a single person for life, in conjunction with a council; by agitators; by major-generals; by a new kind of representatives from the three kingdoms; by the keepers of the liberties of *England*; with other schemes that have slipped out of my memory. *Cromwell* was dead; his son *Richard* a weak ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy much in the same manner with the two usurping kings of *Brentford*†; the people harassed with taxes, and other oppressions. The king's party, then called the *Cavaliers*, began to recover their spirits. The few nobility scattered through the kingdom, who lived in a most retired manner, observing the confusion of things, could no longer endure to be ridden by bakers, cobblers, brewers, and the like at the head of armies, and plundering every where like *french* dragoons. The *rump* assembly grew despicable to those, who had raised them: the city of *London* exhausted by almost twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared against them. The *rump*, after many deaths and resurrections, was in the most contemptuous manner kicked out, and burnt in effigy. The excluded members were let in: a free parliament called in as legal a manner as the times would allow; and the king restored.

The second claim of *presbyterian* merit is founded upon their services against the dangerous designs of king *James* the second; while that prince was using all his endeavours to introduce *popery*, which he openly professed upon his coming to the crown: to this they add their eminent services at the revolution under the prince of *Orange*.

Now the *quantum* of *presbyterian* merit during the four years

* This name was given to that part of the house of commons, which remained after the moderate men had been expelled by military force.

† In the *Rehearsal*.

reign of that weak, bigotted, and ill advised prince, as well as at the time of the revolution, will easily be computed by a recourse to a great number of histories, pamphlets and publick papers, printed in those times and some afterwards; besides the verbal testimonies of many persons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and observed the *dissenters* conduct in that critical period.

It is agreed, that upon king *Charles* the second's death, soon after his successor had publickly owned himself a *roman catholick*, he began with his first caresses to the church party; from whom having received very cold discouraging answers, he applied to the *presbyterian* leaders and teachers; being advised by his priests and *popish* courtiers, that the safest method towards introducing his own religion would be by taking off the *sacramental test*, and giving a full liberty of conscience to all religions, (I suppose that professed christianity.) It seems that the *presbyterians* in the latter years of king *Charles* the second, upon account of certain plots (allowed by bishop *Burnet* to be genuine) had been for a short time forbid to hold their conventicles. Whereupon these charitable *Christians*, out of perfect resentment against the church, received the gracious offers of king *James* with the strongest professions of loyalty, and highest acknowledgments for his favour. I have seen several of their addresses, full of thanks and praises, with bitter insinuations of what they had suffered; putting themselves and the *papists* upon the same foot, as fellow-sufferers for conscience; and with the style of *our brethren the roman catholicks*. About this time began the project of *closeting* (which hath since been practised many times with more art and success) where the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were privately catechised by his majesty to know whether, if a new parliament were called, they would agree to pass an act for repealing the *sacramental test*, and establishing a general liberty of conscience. But he received so little encouragement, that despairing of success he had recourse to his dispensing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By
colour

colour of this determination he preferred several *presbyterians*, and many *papists*, to civil and military employments. While the king was thus busied, it is well known that monsieur *Fagel*, the *dutch* envoy in *London*, delivered the opinion of the prince and princess of *Orange* concerning the repeal of the *test*; whereof the king had sent an account to their highnesses, to know how far they approved of it. The substance of their answer, as reported by *Fagel*, was this, *that their highnesses thought very well of a liberty of conscience; but by no means of giving employments to any other persons than those who were of the national church.* This opinion was confirmed by several reasons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, although it hath been printed in many accounts of those times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps submit to: but to trust any part of the civil power in the hands of those whose interest, inclination, conscience, and former practices have been wholly turned to introduce a different system of religion and government, hath very few examples in any christian state; nor any at all in *Holland*, the great patroness of universal toleration.

Upon the first intelligence king *James* received of an intended invasion by the prince of *Orange*, among great numbers of *papists* to increase his troops he gave commissions to several *presbyterians*; some of whom had been officers under the *rump*; and particularly he placed one *Richards*, a noted *presbyterian*, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of *Wexford* in *Cromwell's* time, and is often mentioned by *Ludlow* in his *memoirs*. This regiment was raised in *England* against the prince of *Orange*: the colonel made his son a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a *presbyterian* as his father. However, at the time of the prince's landing the father, easily foreseeing how things would go, went over like many others to the prince, who continued him in his regiment; but coming over a year or two after to assist in raising the siege of *Derry*, he behaved himself so like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him. I will

I will now consider the conduct of the church party during the whole reign of that unfortunate king. They were so unanimous against promising to pass an act for repealing the test, and establishing a general liberty of conscience, that the king durst not trust a parliament; but encouraged by the professions of loyalty given him by his *presbyterian* friends, went on with his dispensing power.

The church clergy at that time are allowed to have written the best collection of tracts against *popery*, that ever appeared in *England*; which are to this day in the highest esteem. But upon the strictest enquiry, I could never hear of above one or two papers published by the *presbyterians* at that time upon the same subject. Seven great prelates (he of *Canterbury* among the rest) were sent to the tower for presenting a petition, wherein they desired to be excused in not obeying an illegal command from the king. The bishop of *London*, Dr. *Compton*, was summoned to answer before the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs for not suspending Dr. *Sharp* (afterwards archbishop of *York*) by the king's command. If the *presbyterians* expressed the same zeal upon any occasion, the instances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or transmitted by tradition. The proceedings against *Magdalen college* in *Oxford*, for refusing to comply with the king's mandate for admitting a professed *papist* upon their foundation, are a standing proof of the courage and firmness in religion shewn by that learned society to the ruin of their fortunes. The *presbyterians* know very well, that I could produce many more instances of the same kind. But these are enough in so short a paper as I intend at present.

It is indeed very true, that after king *William* was settled on the *english* throne, the *presbyterians* began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour: and the new king having been originally bred a *calvinist* was desirous enough to make them easy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration; although in his heart he never bore much affection to that sect; nor designed to favour them farther than as it stood with the present scheme of politicks;

politicks; as I have long since been assured by the greatest men of whig principles at that time in *England*.

It is likewise true, nor will it be denied, that when the king was possessed of the *english* crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom; the *presbyterians* wisely chose to join with the *protestant* army, rather than with that of king *James* their old friend, whose affairs were then in a manner desperate. They were wise enough to know, that this kingdom divided against itself could never prevail against the united power of *England*. They fought *pro aris et focis*; for their estates and religion; which latter will never suffer so much by the church of *England*, as by that of *Rome*, where they are counted hereticks as well as we: and consequently they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a *protestant* army, under a king they acknowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties against a *popish* enemy under an abdicated king; is, I confess, to me absolutely inconceivable; and I believe will equally be so for ever to any reasonable man.

When these sectaries were several years ago making the same attempt for abolishing the test, many groundless reports were industriously and seasonably spread of an invasion threatned by the *pretender* on the north of *Ireland*. At which time the *presbyterians* in their pamphlets argued in a menacing manner, that if the *pretender* should invade those parts of the kingdom, where the numbers and estates of the dissenters chiefly lay, they would sit still, and *let us fight our own battles*; since they were to reap no advantage, which ever side should be victors. If this were the course they intended to take in such a case, I desire to know, how they could contrive safely to stand neuters, otherwise than by a compact with the *pretender* and his army to support their neutrality, and protect them against the forces of the crown? This is a necessary supposition; because they must otherwise have inevitably been a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration they sufficiently

shewed their good will, and confirmed the common charge laid at their door; that a *scottish* or northern *presbyterian* hates our episcopal established church more than *popery* itself. And the reason for this hatred is natural enough; because it is the church alone, that stands in the way between them and power; which *popery* doth not.

Upon this occasion I am in some doubt, whether the political spreaders of those chimerical invasions made a judicious choice in fixing the northern parts of *Ireland* for that romantick enterprize. Nor can I well understand the wisdom of the *presbyterians* in countenancing and confirming those reports; because, it seems to cast a most infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body: for if there had been any truth in the matter, the consequence must have been allowed, that the *pretender* counted upon more assistance from his father's friends the *presbyterians* by chusing to land in those very parts, where their number, wealth and power most prevailed, rather than among those of his own religion. And therefore in charity to this sect I rather incline to believe, that those reports of an invasion were formed and spread by the race of small politicians, in order to do a seasonable jobb.

As to *popery* in general, which for a thousand years past hath been introducing and multiplying corruptions both in doctrine and discipline; I look upon it to be the most absurd system of christianity professed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be in much danger from it. The estates of papists are very few; crumbling into small parcels, and daily diminishing; their common people are sunk in poverty, ignorance and cowardice; and of as little consequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at least one half ruined, banished, or converted: they all soundly feel the smart of what they suffered in the last *irish* war: some of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the rest,

rest, I believe, to a man, who still possess any lands, are absolutely determined never to hazard them again for the sake of establishing their superstition. If it hath been thought fit, as some observe, to abate of the law's rigour against *popery* in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wise reasons, considering the situation of affairs abroad at different times, and the interest of the *protestant* religion in general. And as I do not find the least fault in this proceeding; so I do not conceive, why a sunk discarded party, who neither expect nor desire any thing more than a quiet life, should under the names of *high-flyers*, *jacobites*, and many other vile appellations, be charged so often in print and at common tables with endeavouring to introduce *popery* and the *pretender*; while the *papists* abhor them above all other men on account of severities against their priests in her late majesty's reign, when the *now disbanded reprobate party* was in power. This I was convinced of some years ago by a long journey into the southern parts; where I had the curiosity to send for many priests of the parishes I passed through, and to my great satisfaction found them every where abounding in professions of loyalty to the late king *George*; for which they gave me the reasons above-mentioned; at the same time complaining bitterly of the hardships they suffered under the *QUEEN'S last ministry*.

I return from this digression to the modest demands of the *presbyterians* for a repeal of the *sacramental test*, as a reward for their merits at the *restoration* and the *revolution*; which merits I have fairly represented, as well as my memory would allow me. If I have committed any mistakes, they must be of little moment. The facts and principal circumstances are what I have obtained and digested from reading the histories of those times written by each party; and many thousands have done the same as well as I, who I am sure have in their minds drawn the same conclusions.

This is the faction, and these the men, who are now resuming
 E c 2 their

t heir applications, and giving in their bills of merit to both kingdoms upon two points, which of all others they have the least pretensions to offer. I have collected the facts with all possible impartiality from the current histories of those times; and have shewn, although very briefly, the gradual proceedings of those sectaries under the denominations of *puritans*, *presbyterians* and *independents* for about the space of an hundred and eighty years, from the beginning of queen *Elizabeth* to this present time. But notwithstanding all that can be said, these very schismatics (for such they are in temporals as well as spirituals) are now again expecting, soliciting and demanding (not without insinuated threats, according to their custom) that the parliament should fix them upon an equal foot with the church established. I would fain know to what branch of the legislature they can have the forehead to apply. Not to my lords the bishops; who must have often read how the predecessors of this very faction, acting upon the same principles, drove the whole bench out of the house; who were then, and hitherto continue, one of the three estates: not to the temporal peers, the second of the three estates, who must have heard, that immediately after those rebellious fanatics had murdered their king, they voted a house of lords to be useless and dangerous, and would let them sit no longer, otherwise than when elected as commoners: not to the house of commons; who must have heard, that in those fanatick times the *presbyterian* and *independent* commanders in the army by military power expelled all the moderate men out of the house, and left a *rump* to govern the nation: lastly, not to the crown; which those very *saints* destined to *rule the earth* trampled under their feet, and then in cold blood murdered the blessed wearer.

But the session now approaching, and a clan of dissenting teachers being come up to town from their northern head quarters, accompanied by many of their elders and agents, and supported by a general contribution to solicit their establishment with
a capacity

a capacity of holding all military as well as civil employments, I think it high time that this paper should see the light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confessing, that if the *presbyterians* should obtain their ends, I could not be sorry to find them mistaken in the point, which they have most at heart by the repeal of the *test*; I mean the benefit of employments. For after all, what assurance can a *scottish* northern dissenter born on *irish* ground have, that he shall be treated with as much favour as a *TRUE SCOT* born beyond the *Tweed*?

I am ready enough to believe, that all I have said will avail but little. I have the common excuse of other men, when I think myself bound by all religious and civil ties to discharge my conscience, and to warn my countrymen upon this important occasion. It is true, the advocates for this scheme promise a new world after this blessed work shall be compleated; that all animosity and faction must immediately drop; that the only distinction in this kingdom will then be of *papist* and *protestant*: for as to *whig* and *tory*, *high church* and *low church*, *jacobite* and *hanoverian*, *court* and *country party*, *english* and *irish* interests, *dissenters* and *conformists*, *new light* and *old light*, *anabaptist* and *independent*, *quaker* and *mugletonian*; they will all meet and jumble together into a perfect harmony at the sessions and assizes, on the bench and in the revenues; and upon the whole, in all civil and military trusts, not excepting the great councils of the nation. For it is wisely argued thus: that a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is against the rules of good manners to shut any person out of the company, except the *papists*, who profess themselves of another club.

I am at a loss to know, what arts the *presbyterian* sect intends to use in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly government, which (long before the prevalence, or even the birth of their *independent* rivals) as soon as the king's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be against monarchy, as well as episcopacy

pacy and the house of lords, even until the king was restored: at which event although they were forced to submit to the present power, yet I have not heard, that they did ever to this day renounce any one principle, by which their predecessors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at least to shew that others have done it for them, by a certain * doctor, who, as I am told, hath much employed his pen in the like disputes. I own, they will be ready enough to insinuate themselves into any government: but if they mean to be honest and upright, they will and must endeavour by all means, which they shall think lawful, to introduce and establish their own scheme of religion, as nearest approaching to the word of God by casting out all superstitious ceremonies, ecclesiastical titles, habits, distinctions, and superiorities, as rags of *popery*, in order to a *thorough reformation*; and as in charity bound to promote the salvation of their countrymen, wishing with St. Paul, *that the whole kingdom were as they are*. But what assurance will they please to give, that when their sect shall become the national established worship, they will treat Us DISSENTERS as we have treated them? Was this their course of proceeding during the dominion of the *saints*? Were not all the remainders of the episcopal church in those days, especially the clergy, under a persecution for above a dozen years equal to that of the primitive Christians under heathen emperors? That this proceeding was suitable to their principles, is known enough; for many of their preachers then writ books expressly against allowing any liberty of conscience in a religion different from their own; producing many arguments to prove that opinion, and among the rest one frequently insisted on; that allowing such a liberty would be to *establish iniquity by a law* †. Many of these writings are yet to be seen; and I hear have been quoted by the doctor abovementioned.

* The late Dr. TISDEL, who died June 1736. prove this, in the treatise called, *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*.

† See many hundred quotations to

As to their great objection of prostituting that holy institution, the blessed sacrament, by way of a test before admittance into any employment; I ask, whether they would not be content to receive it *after their own manner* for the office of a judge, for that of a commissioner in the revenue, for a regiment of horse, or to be a lord justice. I believe they would scruple it as little, as a long grace before and after dinner, which they can say without *bending a knee*; for as I have been told, their manner of taking bread and wine in their conventicles is performed with little more solemnity than at their common meals. And therefore, since they look upon our practice in receiving the elements to be idolatrous, they neither can nor ought in conscience to allow us that liberty, otherwise than by connivance, and a bare toleration, like what is permitted to the *papists*. But lest we should offend them I am ready to change this test for another; although I am afraid, that sanctified reason is by no means the point where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by pretended churchmen; as if they could be content with our believing, that the impiety and profanation of making the sacrament a test were the only objection. I therefore propose, that before the present law be repealed, another may be enacted; that no man shall receive any employment before he swears himself to be a true member of the church of *Ireland*, in doctrine and discipline, *etc.* and that he will never frequent or communicate with any other form of worship. It shall likewise be further enacted, that whoever offends, *etc.* shall be fined five hundred pounds, imprisoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapable of all publick trust for ever. Otherwise I do insist, that those pious, indulgent, external professors of our national religion shall either give up that fallacious hypocritical reason for taking off the test, or freely confess, that they desire to have a gate wide open for every sect without any test at all, except that of swearing loyalty to the king: which however, considering their principles with regard to monarchy

monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would please to look deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bitter test, than any other that the law hath yet invented.

For from the first time that these sectaries appeared in the world, it hath been always found by their whole proceedings, that they professed an utter hatred to kingly government. I can recollect at present three civil establishments, where *calvinists* and some other reformers who rejected *episcopacy*, possess the supreme power; and these are all republicks; I mean, *Holland*, *Geneva*, and the reformed *swiss* cantons. I do not say this in diminution or disgrace to commonwealths; wherein I confess I have much altered many opinions under which I was educated, having been led by some observation, long experience, and a thorough detestation for the corruptions of mankind: insomuch, that I am now justly liable to the censure of *Hobbes*, who complains, that the youth of *England* imbibe ill opinions from reading the histories of ancient *Greece* and *Rome*, those renowned scenes of liberty and every virtue.

But as to monarchs, who must be supposed well to study and understand their own interest; they will best consider, whether those people, who in all their actions, preachings and writings have openly declared themselves against regal power, are to be safely placed in an equal degree of favour and trust with those, who have been always found the true and only friends to the *english* establishment. From which consideration, I could have added one more article to my new test, if I had thought it worth my time.

I have been assured by some persons who were present, that several of these dissenting teachers, upon their first arrival hither to solicit the repeal of the test, were pleased to express their gratitude by publickly drinking the healths of certain eminent patrons, whom they pretend to have found among us. If this be true, and
that

that the test must be delivered up by the very *superiors appointed to defend it*; the affair is already in effect at an end. What *secret* reasons those patrons may have given for such a return of brotherly love, I shall not enquire: *for, O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united. For in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.*

THE
ADVANTAGES

Proposed by

REPEALING THE SACRAMEATAL TEST,
IMPARTIALLY CONSIDERED.

Written in the Year 1732.

WHOEVER writes impartially upon this subject, must do it not only as a mere secular man; but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular system of christianity. And I think, in whatever country that religion predominates, there is one certain form of worship and ceremony, which is looked upon as the established; and consequently, only the priests of that particular form are maintained at the publick charge; and all civil employments bestowed among those, who comply (at least outwardly) with the same establishment.

This method is strictly observed, even by our neighbours the *Dutch*, who are confessed to allow the fullest liberty of conscience of any christian state; and yet are never known to admit any persons into civil offices, who do not conform to the legal worship. As to their military men, they are indeed not so scrupulous; being by the nature of their government under a necessity of hiring foreign troops of whatever religious denomination upon every great emergency, and maintaining no small number in time of peace.

This caution therefore of making one established faith seems to be

be universal, and founded upon the strongest reasons, the mistaken or affected zeal of obstinacy and enthusiasm having produced such a number of horrible destructive events throughout all *christendom*. For whoever begins to think the national worship is wrong in any important article of practice or belief, will, if he be serious, naturally have a zeal to make as many proselytes as he can: and a nation may possibly have an hundred different sects with their leaders; every one of which hath an equal right to plead, that they must *obey God rather than man*; must *cry aloud and spare not*; must *lift up their voice like a trumpet*.

This was the very case of *England* during the fanatick times. And against all this there seems to be no defence, but that of supporting one established form of doctrine and discipline; leaving the rest to a bare liberty of conscience, but without any maintenance or encouragement from the publick.

Wherever this national religion grows so corrupt, or is thought to do so by a very great majority of landed people joined to the governing party, whether prince or senate, or both, it ought to be changed; provided the work might be done without blood or confusion. Yet, whenever such a change shall be made, some other establishment must succeed, although for the worse; allowing all deviations, that would break the union, to be only tolerated. In this sense, those who affirm that every law, which is contrary to the law of God, is void in itself, seem to be mistaken: for many laws in *popish* kingdoms and states, many more among the *Turks*, and perhaps not a few in other countries, are directly against the divine laws; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive part.

Thus for instance, if the three estates of parliament in *England* (whereof the lords spiritual, who represent the *church*, are one) should agree and obtain the royal assent to abolish episcopacy, together with the liturgy, and the whole frame of the *english* church, as *burthensome, dangerous and contrary to holy scripture*;

and that *presbytery*, *anabaptism*, *quakerism*, *independency*, *mugletonianism*, *brownism*, *familism*, or any other subdivided sect among us, should be established in its place: without question all peaceable subjects ought passively to submit; and the predominant sect must become the religion established; the publick maintaining no other teachers, nor admitting any persons of a different religious profession into civil offices, at least if their intention be to preserve the nation in peace.

Supposing then, that the present system of religion were abolished; and *presbytery*, which I find stands the fairest, with its synods and classes, and all its forms and ceremonies essential or circumstantial, were erected into the national worship: their teachers, and no others, could have any legal claim to be supported at the publick charge, whether by stipends or tythes; and only the rest of the same faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reasoning in what I have laid down, it should seem, that the project now in agitation for repealing the *test act*, and yet leaving the name of an establishment to the present national church, is altogether inconsistent; and may admit of consequences, which those, who are the most indifferent to any religion at all, are possibly not aware of.

I presume, whenever the *test* shall be repealed, which obliges all men, who enter into office under the crown, to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of *Ireland*; the way to employments will immediately be left open to all *dissenters*, (except *papists*) whose consciences can suffer them to take the common oaths in such cases prescribed; after which, they are qualified to fill any lay-station in this kingdom, from that of chief governor to an excise-man.

Thus, of the three judges on each bench the first may be a *presbyterian*, the second a *free-will baptist*, and the third a *church-man*; the *lord chancellor* may be an *independent*; the revenues may be managed by seven commissioners of as many different sects; and the

the like of all other employments: not to mention the strong probability, that the lawfulness of taking oaths may be *revealed* to the quakers, who then will stand upon as good a foot for preferment, as any other loyal subjects. It is obvious to imagine, under such a motly administration of affairs, what a clashing there will be of interest and inclinations; what pullings and hawlings backwards and forwards; what a zeal and byas in each religionist to advance his own tribe, and depress the others. For I suppose nothing will be readier granted, than that how indifferent soever most men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obstinate in maintaining their own opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than those who publicly shew the least sense either of religion or common honesty.

As to the latter, bishop *Burnet* tells us, that the *presbyterians* in the fanatick times professed themselves to be above morality; which, as we find in some of their writings, was numbered among the *beggarly elements*: and accordingly at this day no scruples of conscience with regard to conformity are in any trade or calling inconsistent with the greatest fraud, oppression, perjury, or any other vice.

This brings to my memory a passage in *Montaigne*, of a common prostitute, who in the storming of a town, when a soldier came up to her chamber and offered violence to her chastity, rather chose to venture her neck by leaping out of the window than suffer a rape; yet still continued her trade of lewdness, while she had any customers left.

I confess, that in my private judgment an unlimited permission of all sects whatsoever (except *papists*) to enjoy employments would be less pernicious to the publick, than a fair struggle between two contenders; because in the former case, such a jumble of principles might possibly have the effect of contrary poisons mingled together; which a strong constitution might perhaps be able for some time to survive.

But

But however I shall take the other and more probable supposition, that this battle for employments is to be fought only between the *presbyterians*, and those of the church yet established. I shall not enter into the merits of either side by examining, which of the two is the better spiritual œconomy, or which is most suited to our civil constitution: but the question turns upon this point; when the *presbyterians* shall have got their share of employments, (which must be one full half, or else they cannot look upon themselves as fairly dealt with) I ask, whether they ought not by their own principles, and by the strictest rules of conscience, to use the utmost of their skill, power and influence in order to reduce the whole kingdom to an uniformity in religion, both as to doctrine and discipline most agreeable to the word of God. Wherein if they can succeed without blood (as under the present disposition of things it is very possible they may) it is to be hoped they will at last be satisfied: only I would warn them of a few difficulties. The first is of compromising among themselves that important controversy about the *old light* and the *new*; which otherwise may after this establishment split them as wide as *papist* and *protestant*, *whig* and *tory*, or *churchman* and *dissenter*; and consequently the work will be to begin again: for in religious quarrels it is of little moment, how few or small the differences are; especially when the dispute is only about power. Thus the zealous *presbyterians* of the *north* are more alienated from the established clergy, than from the *romish* priests; taxing the former with idolatrous worship, as disguised *papists*, *ceremony-mongers*, and many other terms of art; and this for a very powerful reason; because the clergy stand in their way, which the *popish* priests do not. Thus I am assured that the quarrel between *old* and *new light-men* is managed with more rage and rancour, than any other dispute of the highest importance; and this, because it serves to lessen or increase their several congregations, from whom they receive their contributions.

Another

Another difficulty, which may embarrass the *presbyterians* after their establishment, will be, how to adjust their claim of the *kirk's* independency on the civil power, with the constitution of this monarchy; a point so delicate, that it hath often filled the heads of great patriots with dangerous notions of the church-clergy without the least ground of suspicion.

As to the *presbyterians* allowing liberty of conscience to those of episcopal principles, when their own *kirk* shall be predominant; their writers are so universally agreed in the negative, as well as their practice during *Oliver's* reign, that I believe no reasonable churchman (who must then be a *dissenter*) will expect it.

I shall here take notice, that in the division of employments among the *presbyterians* after this approaching repeal of the *test-act*, supposing them in proper time to have an equal share, the odds will be three or four to one on their side in any farther scheme they may have towards making their religion national. For, I reckon all those gentlemen sent over from *England*, whatever religion they profess or have been educated in, to be of that party: since it is no mark of prudence for any persons to oppose the current of a nation, where they are in some sort only sojourners; unless they *have it in direction*.

If there be any maxim in politicks not to be controlled, it must be the following: that those, whose private interest is united with the interest of their country, supposing them to be of equal understanding with the rest of their neighbours, will heartily wish, that the nation should thrive. Out of these are indubitably excepted all persons, who are sent from another kingdom to be employed in places of profit or power; because they cannot possibly bear any affection to the place where they sojourn, even for life; their sole business being to advance themselves by following the advice of their *principals*. I except likewise those persons, who are taken into offices, although natives of the land; because they are greater gainers while they keep their offices, than they could

could possibly be by mending the miserable condition of their country.

I except, *thirdly*, all hoppers, who by balancing accounts with themselves turn the scale on the same side; because the strong expectation of a good certain salary will outweigh the loss by bad rents received out of lands in money-less times.

If my lords the bishops, who I hear are now employed in a scheme for regulating the conduct and maintenance of the inferior clergy, shall in their wisdom and piety and love of the church consent to this repeal of the *test*, I have not the least doubt, that the whole reverend body will cheerfully submit to their spiritual fathers; of whose paternal tenderness for their welfare they have already found so many *amazing* instances.

I am not therefore under the least concern about the clergy on this account. They will (*for some time*) be no great sufferers by this repeal; because I cannot recollect among all our sects any one, that giveth latitude enough to take the oaths required at an institution to a church-living; and until that bar shall be removed, the present episcopal clergy are safe for two years. Although it may be thought somewhat unequal, that in the *northern* parts, where there may be three *dissenters* to one *churchman*, the whole revenue shall be engrossed by him who hath so small a part of the cure.

It is true indeed, that this disadvantage, which the *dissenters* at present lie under, of a disability to receive church-preferments, will be easily remedied by the repeal of the *test*. For the *dissenting* teachers are under no incapacity of accepting civil and military employments; wherein they agree perfectly with the *popish* clergy; among whom great cardinals and prelates have been commanders of armies, chief ministers, knights of many orders, ambassadors, secretaries of state, and in most high offices under the crown; although they assert the *indelible character*, which no sectaries among us did ever assume. But that many, both *presbyterians*

rians and *independents*, commanders as well as private soldiers, were professed preachers in the time of their dominion, is allowed by all. *Cromwell* himself was a preacher; and hath left us one of his sermons in print, exactly in the same style and manner with those of our modern *presbyterian* teachers: so was colonel *Howard*, Sir *George Downing*, and several others whose names are on record. I can therefore see no reason, why a painful *presbyterian* teacher, as soon as the *test* shall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold along with the spiritual office and stipend a commission in the army or the civil list in *commendam*: for, as I take it, the church of *England* is the only body of *Christians*, which in effect disqualifies those, who are employed to preach its doctrine, from sharing in the civil power, farther than as senators: yet this was a privilege begun in times of *popery*, many hundred years before the *reformation*, and woven with the very institution of our limited monarchy.

There is indeed another method, whereby the stipends of dissenting teachers may be raised, and the farmer much relieved; if it should be thought proper to reward a people so deserving, and so loyal by their principles. Every bishop upon the vacancy of a church-living can sequester the profits for the use of the next incumbent. Upon a lapse of half a year the donation falls to the archbishop, and after a full year to the crown, during pleasure. Therefore it would be no hardship for any clergyman *alive*, if (in those parts of *Ireland*, where the number of sectaries much exceeds that of the conformists) the profits, when sequestered, might be applied to the support of the dissenting teacher, who hath so many souls to take care of: whereby the poor tenants would be much relieved in those hard times, and in a better condition to pay their rents.

But there is another difficulty in this matter, against which a remedy doth not so readily occur. For supposing the *test-act* re-

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pealed,

pealed, and the dissenters in consequence fully qualified for all secular employments; the question may still be put, whether those of *Ireland* will be often the persons on whom they shall be bestowed; because it is imagined, there may be * another *seminary* in view, *more numerous* and *more needy*, as well as *more meriting*, and more easily contented with such low offices; which some nearer neighbours hardly think it worth stirring from their chimney-sides to obtain. And I am told, it is the common practice of those who are skilled in the management of bees, that when they see a foreign swarm at some distance, approaching with an intention to plunder their hives, these artists have a trick to divert them into some neighbouring apiary, there to make what havock they please. This I should not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten ground in many suspecting heads; for it is the peculiar talent of this nation to see dangers afar off: to all which I can only say, that our native *presbyterians* must by pains and industry raise such a fund of *merit*, as will answer to a birth six degrees more to the *north*. If they cannot arrive at this perfection, as several of the established church have compassed by indefatigable pains, I do not well see, how their affairs will much mend by repealing the *test*: for to be qualified by law to accept an employment, and yet to be disqualified in fact, as it will much increase the mortification, so it will withdraw the pity of many among their well-wishers, and utterly deprive them of that *merit* they have so long made, of being a loyal *true protestant* people, persecuted only for religion.

If this happen to be their case, they must wait maturity of time; until they can by prudent, gentle steps, make their faith become the religion established in the nation; after which, I do not in the least doubt, that they will take the most effectual me-

* *Scotland.*

thods to secure their power against those, who must then be *dissenters* in their turn; whereof, if we may form a future opinion from present times, and the dispositions of *dissenters*, who love to make a *thorough reformation*, the number and qualities will be very inconsiderable.

Thus I have, with the utmost sincerity, after long thinking, given my judgment upon this arduous affair; but with the utmost deference and submission to publick wisdom and power.

Q U E R I E S

Relating to the

SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the Year 1732.

QUERY, **W**HETHER hatred and violence between parties in a state be not more inflamed by different views of interest, than by the greater or lesser differences between them either in religion or government?

Whether it be any part of the question at this time, which of the two religions is worse, *popery* or *fanaticism*; or not rather, which of the two (having both the same good will) is in the hope-fullest condition to ruin the church?

Whether the sectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually as the *papists*?

Whether the prevailing sectaries could allow liberty of conscience to *dissenters* without belying all their former practice, and almost all their former writings?

Whether many hundred thousand *scotch* presbyterians are not full as virulent against the episcopal church, as they are against the *papists*; or as they would have us think the *papists* are against them?

Whether the *Dutch*, who are most distinguished for allowing liberty of conscience, do ever admit any persons, who profess a different scheme of worship from their own, into civil employments, although they *may* be forced by the nature of their government to receive mercenary troops of all religions?

Whether

QUERIES RELATING TO THE TEST. 229

Whether the *dissenters* ever pretended, until of late years, to desire more than a bare toleration?

Whether, if it be true, what a sorry pamphleteer asserts, who lately writ for repealing the *test*, that the *dissenters* in this kingdom are equally numerous with the churchmen, it would not be a necessary point of prudence by all proper and lawful means to prevent their further increase?

The great argument given by those, whom they call *low* churchmen, to justify the large tolerations allowed to *dissenters* hath been; that by such indulgencies the rancour of those sectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their parties in a little time crumble to nothing.

Query, Whether if what the above pamphleteer asserts, that the sectaries are equal in numbers with conformists be true, it doth not clearly follow, that those repeated tolerations have operated directly contrary to what those *low* church politicians pretended to foresee and expect?

Whether any clergyman, however dignified or distinguished, if he think his own profession most agreeable to holy scripture and the primitive church, can really wish in his heart, that all sectaries should be upon an equal foot with the churchmen in the point of civil power and employments?

Whether episcopacy, which is held by the church to be a divine and apostolical institution, be not a fundamental point of religion, particularly in that essential one of conferring holy orders?

Whether, by necessary consequences the several expedients among the sectaries to constitute their teachers are not absolutely null and void?

Whether the sectaries will ever agree to accept ordination only from bishops?

Whether the bishops and clergy will be content to give up episcopacy, as a point indifferent, without which the church can well subsist?

Whether

Whether that great tenderness towards sectaries, which now so much prevails, be chiefly owing to the fears of *popery*, or to that spirit of atheism, deism, scepticism, and universal immorality, which all good men so much lament?

Granting *popery* to have many more errors in religion than any one branch of the sectaries, let us examine the actions of both, as they have each affected the peace of these kingdoms with allowance for the short time, which the sectaries had to act in, who are in a manner *but of yesterday*. The *papists* in the time of king *James* the II^d used all endeavours to establish their superstition, wherein they failed by the united power of *english* church-protestants with the prince of *Orange's* assistance. But it cannot be asserted, that these bigotted *papists* had the least design to oppose or murder their king, much less to abolish kingly government; nor was it their interest or inclination to attempt either.

On the other side the *puritans*, who had almost from the beginning of queen *Elizabeth's* reign been a perpetual thorn in the church's side, joining with the *scotch* enthusiasts in the time of king *Charles* the first, were the principal cause of the *irish* rebellion and *massacre* by distressing that prince, and making it impossible for him to send over timely succours. And after that pious prince had satisfied his parliament in every single point to be complained of, the same sectaries by poisoning the minds and affections of the people with the most false and wicked representations of their king, were able in the compass of a few years to embroil the three nations in a bloody rebellion at the expence of many thousand lives; to turn the kingly power into anarchy; to murder their prince in the face of the world, and (in their own style) to destroy the church *root and branch*.

The account therefore stands thus. The *papists* aimed at one pernicious act, which was to destroy the *protestant* religion; wherein by God's mercy, and the assistance of our glorious king *William*, they absolutely failed. The sectaries attempted the three
most

most infernal actions, that could possibly enter into the hearts of men forsaken by God; which were, the murder of a most pious king, the destruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and succeeded in them all.

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of those sectaries have ever yet in a solemn publick manner renounced any one of those principles, upon which their predecessors then acted?

Whether, considering the cruel persecutions of the episcopal church during the course of that horrid rebellion and the consequences of it until the happy *restoration*, it is not manifest, that the persecuting spirit lies so equally divided between the *papists* and the sectaries, that a feather would turn the ballance on either side?

And therefore, lastly, Whether any person of common understanding, who professeth himself a member of the church established, although perhaps with little inward regard to any religion, (which is too often the case) if he loves the peace and welfare of his country, can after cool thinking rejoice to see a power placed again in the hands of so restless, so ambitious, and so merciless a faction, to act over all the same parts a second time?

Whether the candor of that expression so frequent of late in sermons and pamphlets, of the *strength and number of the papists in Ireland*, can be justified? for as to their number, however great, it is always magnified in proportion to the zeal or politicks of the speaker and writer; but it is a gross imposition upon common reason to terrify us with their strength. For *popery*, under the circumstances it lies in this kingdom, although it be offensive and inconvenient enough from the consequences it hath to encrease the rapine, sloth, and ignorance, as well as poverty of the natives, is not properly dangerous in that sense, as some would have us take it; because it is universally hated by every party of a different religious profession. It is the contempt of the wise; the best topick for clamours of designing men; but the real terror
only

only of fools. The landed *popish* interest in *England* far exceeds that among us even in proportion to the wealth and extent of each kingdom. The little that remains here is daily dropping into *protestant* hands by purchase or descent; and that affected complaint of counterfeit converts will fall with the cause of it in half a generation, unless it be raised or kept alive as a continual fund of merit and eloquence. The *papists* are wholly disarmed: they have neither courage, leaders, money, or inclinations to rebel: they want every advantage, which they formerly possessed, to follow that trade; and wherein even with those advantages they always miscarried: they appear very easy and satisfied under that connivance, which they enjoyed during the whole last reign; nor ever scrupled to reproach another party, under which they pretend to have suffered so much severity.

Upon these considerations I must confess to have suspended much of my pity towards the great dreaders of *popery*; many of whom appear to be hale, strong, active, young men; who, as I am told, eat, drink and sleep heartily; and are very chearful (as they have exceeding good reason) upon all other subjects. However, I cannot too much commend the generous concern, which our neighbours, and others who come from the same neighbourhood, are so kind to express for us upon this account; although the former be farther removed from the danger of *popery* by twenty leagues of salt water: but this, I fear, is a digression.

When an artificial report was raised here many years ago of an intended invasion by the *pretender*, (which blew over after it had done its office) the *dissenters* argued in their talk and in their pamphlets after this manner, applying themselves to those of the church: Gentlemen, if the *pretender* had landed, as the law now stands, we durst not assist you; and therefore, unless you take off the *test*, whenever you shall happen to be invaded in earnest, if we are desired to take up arms in your defence, our answer shall be, Pray gentlemen fight your own battles; we will lie

lie by quietly; conquer your enemies by yourselves, if you can; we will not do your drudgery. This way of reasoning I have heard from several of their chiefs and abettors in an hundred conversations; and have read it in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will be offered again, if the project should fail to take off the *test*.

Upon which piece of oratory and reasoning I form the following query. Whether in case of an invasion from the *pretender* (which is not quite so probable as from the *grand signior*) the *dis-senters* can with prudence and safety offer the same plea; except they shall have made a previous stipulation with the invaders? And whether the full freedom of their religion and trade, their lives, properties, wives and children, are not, and have not always been reckoned, sufficient motives for repelling invasions; especially in our sectaries, who call themselves the *truest protestants* by virtue of their pretended or real fierceness against *papery*.

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the day of the martyrdom of the blessed king *Charles* the first, enjoined by act of parliament, can be justly reckoned a particular and distinguishing mark of good affection to the present government?

Whether in those churches, where the said day is observed, it will fully answer the intent of the said act, if the preacher shall commend, excuse, palliate, or extenuate the murder of that royal martyr; and place the guilt of that horrid rebellion with all its consequences, the following usurpations, the entire destruction of the church, the cruel and continual persecutions of those who could be discovered to profess its doctrines, with the ensuing *babel* of fanaticism, to the account of that blessed king, who, by granting the petition of right, and passing every bill that could be asked for the security of the subject, had, by the confession of those wicked men before the war began, left them nothing more to demand?

H h

Whether

Whether such a preacher as I have named, (whereof there have been more than *one*, not many years past, even in the presence of viceroys) who takes that course as a means for promotion, may not be thought to step a little out of the common road in a monarchy where the descendants of that most blessed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reason of making these queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

R E A S O N S

Humbly offered to the

PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND

For REPEALING the

SACRAMENTAL TEST, IN FAVOUR OF THE CATHOLICKS.

Written in 1732.*

IT is well known, that the first conquerors of this kingdom were *english catholicks*, subjects to *english catholick* kings, from whom by their valour and success they obtained large portions of land, given them as a reward for their many victories over the *Irish*: to which merit our *brethren* the dissenters of any denomination whatsoever have not the least pretensions.

It is confessed, that the posterity of those first victorious *catholicks* were often forced to rise in their own defence against new colonies from *England*, who treated them like mere native *Irish* with innumerable oppressions, depriving them of their lands, and driving them by force of arms into the most desolate parts of the kingdom; till in the next generation the children of these tyrants were used in the same manner by new *english* adventurers, which practice continued for many centuries. But it is agreed on all hands, that no insurrections were ever made, except after great oppressions by fresh invaders. Whereas all the rebellions of *puritans*, *presbyterians*, *independents*, and other sectaries, constantly began before any provocations were given, except that they were not suffered to change the government in church and state, and

* The author having before examined the presbyterians plea of merit, with respect to their own principles and practices, has in this tract put them in the ballance against papists.

seize both into their own hands; which however at last they did with the murder of their king, and of many thousands of his best subjects.

The *catholicks* were always defenders of monarchy, as constituted in these kingdoms; whereas our *brethren* the *dissenters* were always republicans both in principle and practice.

It is well known, that all the *catholicks* of these kingdoms, both priests and laity, are true *whigs*, in the best and most proper sense of the word; bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profession, an entire loyalty to the royal house of *Hanover*, in the person and posterity of *George II.* against the *pretender* and all his *adherents*. To which they think themselves bound in gratitude as well as conscience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated since the death of queen *Anne*, so different from what they suffered in the four last years of that princess, during the administration of that *wicked* minister the earl of *Oxford*.

The *catholicks* of this kingdom humbly hope, that they have at least as fair a title as any of their *brother dissenters* to the appellation of *protestants*. They have always *protested* against the selling, dethroning, or murdering their kings; against the usurpations and avarice of the court of *Rome*; against *deism*, *atheism*, *socinianism*, *quakerism*, *muggletonianism*, *fanaticism*, *brownism*, as well as against all *Jews*, *Turks*, *infidels*, and *hereticks*. Whereas the title of *protestants* assumed by the whole herd of dissenters (except ourselves) dependeth entirely upon their *protesting against archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, with their revenues; and the whole hierarchy*; which are the very expressions used in the *solemn league and covenant*, * where the word *popery* is only mentioned *ad invidiam*; because the *catholicks* agree with the episcopal church in those fundamentals.

* A solemn league and covenant entered into between the *scots* and *english* fanatics in the rebellion against king *Charles I.* 1643, by which they solemnly engaged among other things,

“ to endeavour the extirpation of prelacy, that
“ is, church government by archbishops, bishops,
“ deans, archdeacons and all other episcopal officers depending on that hierarchy.

Although

Although the *catholicks* cannot deny, that in the great rebellion against king *Charles I.* more soldiers of their religion were in the parliament army than in his majesty's troops; and that many jesuits and friers went about in the disguise of *presbyterian* and *independent* ministers to preach up rebellion, as the best historians of those times inform us; yet the bulk of *catholicks* in both kingdoms preserved their loyalty entire.

The *catholicks* have some reason to think it a little hard, when their enemies will not please to distinguish between the rebellious riot committed by that brutal ruffian Sir *Phelim O Neal* with his tumultuous crew of rabble, and the forces raised afterwards by the *catholick* lords and gentlemen of the *english* pale in defence of the king, after the *english* rebellion began. It is well known, that his majesty's affairs were in great distraction some time before by an invasion of the *covenanting, scottish, kirk rebels*, and by the base terms the king was forced to accept, that they might be kept in quiet at a juncture when he was every hour threatned at home by that fanatick party, which soon after set all in a flame. And if the *catholick* army in *Ireland* fought for their king against the forces sent over by the parliament then in actual rebellion against him, what person of loyal principles can be so partial to deny, that they did their duty by joining with the marquis of *Ormond* and other commanders, who bore their commissions from the king? for which great numbers of them lost their lives, and forfeited their estates; a great part of the latter being now possessed by many descendants from those very men, who had drawn their swords in the service of that rebellious parliament which cut off his head, and destroyed monarchy. And what is more amazing, although the same persons, when the *Irish* were intirely subdued, continued in power under the *rump*, were chief confidents, and faithful subjects to *Cromwell*, yet being wise enough to foresee a *restoration*, they seized the forts and castles here out of the hands of their *old brethren in rebellion*, for the service of the king; just saving the tide,
and

and putting in a stock of merit sufficient not only to preserve the land which the *catholicks* lost by their loyalty, but likewise to preserve their civil and military employments, or be higher advanced.

Those insurrections wherewith the *catholicks* are charged, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the great *english* rebellion, were occasioned by many oppressions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a *new* religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preserving the *old*; the very same which their ancestors professed from the time that *christianity* was first introduced into this island, which was by *catholicks*; but whether mingled with corruptions, as some pretend, doth not belong to the question. They had no design to change the government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, to betray, to sell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The schismatics acted by a spirit directly contrary; they united in a *solemn league and covenant* to alter the whole system of spiritual government established in all christian nations, and of apostolick institution; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth.

The *catholicks* of *Ireland* in the great rebellion lost their estates for fighting in defence of their king. The schismatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil; obtained grants of those very estates, which the *catholicks* lost in defence of the antient constitution, many of which estates are at this day possessed by the posterity of those schismatics: and thus they gained by their *rebellion*, what the *catholicks* lost by their *loyalty*.

We allow the *catholicks* to be *brethren* of the dissenters; some people indeed (which we cannot allow) would have *them* to be our children, because *we* both dissent from the church established, and both

both agree in abolishing this persecuting sacramental test; by which *negative discouragement* we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However, we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of these schismatics in calling the members of the national church their *brethren* and *fellow protestants*. It is true, that all these sects (except the *catholicks*) are *brethren* to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverseness, pride, and (if we except the *quakers*) in rebellion. But, how the churchmen can be styled their *fellow protestants*, we cannot comprehend: because, when the whole *babel* of sectaries joined against the church, the king, and the nobility for twenty years in a MATCH AT FOOT BALL, where the proverb expressly tells us, that *all are FELLOWS*; while the three kingdoms were tossed to and fro, the churches and cities and royal palaces shattered to pieces by their *balls*, their *buffets*, and their *kicks*; the victors would allow no more FELLOWS AT FOOT BALL; but murdered, sequestered, plundered, deprived, banished to the plantations, or enslaved all their opposers who had *lost the game*.

It is said the world is governed by *opinion*; and politicians assure us, that all power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to distraction of their own opinions, and so much the more, as those opinions are absurd, ridiculous, or of little moment; it must follow, that they are equally fond of power. But no opinions are maintained with so much obstinacy as those in religion, especially by such zealots, who never bore the least regard to religion, conscience, honour, justice, truth, mercy, or common morality farther than in outward appearance, under the mask of hypocrisy to promote their diabolical designs. And therefore bishop *Burnet* one of their oracles tells us honestly, that the *saints* of those fanatick times pronounced themselves above morality; which they reckoned among *beggarly elements*; but the meaning of these two last words thus applied we confess to be above our understanding.

Among

Among those kingdoms and states which first embraced the reformation, *England* appears to have received it in the most regular way; where it was introduced in a peaceable manner, by the supreme power of a king * and the three estates in parliament; to which, as the highest legislative authority, all subjects are bound passively to submit. Neither was there much blood shed on so great a change of religion. But a considerable number of lords, and other persons of quality through the kingdom, still continued in their old faith, and were, notwithstanding their difference in religion, employed in offices civil as well as military, more or less in every reign, until the test act in the time of king *Charles II.* However, from the time of the reformation, the number of *catholicks* gradually and considerably lessened. So that in the reign of king *Charles I.* *England* became in a great degree a protestant kingdom, without taking the sectaries into the number; the legality whereof, with respect to human laws, the *catholicks* never disputed; but the *puritans*, and other schismatics, without the least pretence to any such authority, by an open rebellion destroyed that legal reformation, as we observed before, murdered their king, and changed the monarchy into a republick. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the *catholicks*, in such a *babel* of religions, chose to adhere to their own faith left them by their ancestors, rather than seek for a better among a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding knaves or deluded enthusiasts.

We repeat once more, that if a national religion be changed by the supreme legislative power, we cannot dispute the human legality of such a change. But we humbly conceive, that if any considerable party of men which differs from an establishment, either old or new, can deserve liberty of conscience, it ought to consist of those, who for want of conviction, or of right understanding the merits of each cause, conceive themselves bound in conscience to adhere to the religion of their ancestors; because

* *Henry VIII.*

they

they are of all others least likely to be authors of innovations either in church or state.

On the other side; if the reformation of religion be founded upon rebellion against the king, without whose consent by the nature of our constitution no law can pass; if this reformation be introduced by only one of the three estates, I mean the commons, and not by one half even of those commons, and this by the assistance of a rebellious army; again if this reformation were carried on by the exclusion of nobles both lay and spiritual, (who constitute the other part of the three estates) by the murder of their king and by abolishing the whole system of government; the *catholicks* cannot see why the successors of those schismatics, who are universally accused by all parties except themselves, and a few infamous abettors, for still retaining the same principles in religion and government, under which their predecessors acted; should pretend to a better share of civil or military trust, profit, and power than the *catholicks*, who during all that period of twenty years were continually persecuted with the utmost severity, merely on account of their loyalty and constant adherence to kingly power.

We now come to those arguments for repealing the sacramental test, which equally affect the *catholicks*, and their brethren the dissenters.

First, we agree with our fellow-dissenters, that * *persecution merely for conscience sake is against the genius of the gospel*. And so likewise is *any law for depriving men of their natural and civil rights, which they claim as men*. We are also ready enough to allow, that *the smallest negative discouragements for uniformity's sake are so many persecutions*. Because, it cannot be denied, that the scratch of a pin is in some degree a real wound, as much as a stab through the heart. In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or justice of the peace,

* *Vid.* Reasons for the repeal of the sacramental test.

merely on a point of conscience, is a negative discouragement, and consequently a real persecution: for in this case, the author of the pamphlet quoted in the † margin puts a very pertinent and powerful question: If God be the sole Lord of the conscience, why should the rights of conscience be subject to human jurisdiction? Now to apply this to the catholicks; the belief of transubstantiation is a matter purely of religion and conscience, which doth not affect the political interest of society, as such: therefore, why should the rights of conscience, whereof God is the sole Lord, be subject to human jurisdiction? And why should God be deprived of this right over a catholick's conscience, any more than over that of any other dissenter?

And whereas another author among our brethren the dissenters hath very justly complained, that by this persecuting test act great numbers of *true protestants* have been forced to leave the kingdom and fly to the plantations, rather than stay here *branded* with an incapacity for civil and military employments; we do affirm, that the *catholicks* can bring many more instances of the same kind; some thousands of their religion having been forced by the sacramental test to retire into other countries, rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing swords, sitting in parliament, and getting that share of power and profit which belong to them as *fellow Christians*, whereof they are deprived *merely upon account of conscience, which would not allow them to take the sacrament after the manner prescribed in the liturgy.* Hence it clearly follows in the words of the same * author, *That if we catholicks are incapable of employments, we are punished for our dissent, that is, for our conscience, which wholly turns upon political considerations.*

The *catholicks* are willing to acknowledge the king's supremacy, whenever their brethren the dissenters shall please to shew them an example.

Further, the *catholicks*, whenever their religion shall come to

† *Idem.*

* See Reasons against the test.

be the national established faith, are willing to undergo the same *test* offered by the author already quoted. His words are these: *To end this debate, by putting it upon a foot which I hope will appear to every impartial person a fair and equitable one: we catholicks propose, with submission to the proper judges, that effectual security be taken against persecution by obliging all, who are admitted into places of power and trust, whatever their religious profession be, in the most solemn manner to disclaim persecuting principles.* It is hoped the publick will take notice of these words; *Whatever their religious profession be; which plainly include the catholicks; and for which we return thanks to our dissenting brethren.*

And whereas it is objected by those of the established church, that if the schismatics and fanatics were once put into a capacity of possessing civil and military employments, they would never be at ease, till they had raised their own way of worship into the national religion through all his majesty's dominions, equal with the *true orthodox scottish kirk*; which when they had once brought to pass, they would no more allow liberty of conscience to episcopal dissenters, than they did in the time of the great *english* rebellion, and in the succeeding fanatick anarchy, till the king was restored. There is another very learned schismatical * pamphleteer, who in answer to a malignant libel called, *The presbyterian plea of merit, etc.* clearly wipes off this aspersions by assuring all episcopal protestants of the present church upon his own word, and to his own knowledge, that our brethren the dissenters will never offer at such an attempt. In like manner the *catholicks*, when legally required, will openly declare *upon their words and honours*, that as soon as their *negative discouragements* and their *persecution* shall be removed by repealing the sacramental test, they will leave it entirely to the merits of the cause, whether the kingdom shall think fit to make their faith the established religion or not.

And again, whereas our *presbyterian* brethren in many of their

* Vindication of the protestant dissenters.

pamphlets take much offence, that the great rebellion in *England*, the murder of the king, with the entire change of religion and government, are perpetually objected against them both in and out of season, by our common enemy the present conformists; we do declare in the defence of our said brethren, that the reproach aforesaid is *an old worn-out thread-bare cant*, which they always disdained to answer: and I very well remember, that having once told a certain conformist, how much I wondered to hear him and his tribe dwelling perpetually on so beaten a subject; he was pleased to divert the discourse with a foolish story, which I cannot forbear telling to his disgrace. He said, there was a clergyman in *Yorkshire*, who for fifteen years together preached every *Sunday* against drunkenness: whereat the parishioners being much offended, complained to the archbishop; who having sent for the clergyman, and severely reprimanded him, the minister had no better an answer, than by confessing the fact; adding, that all the parish were drunkards; that he desired to reclaim them from one vice, before he would begin upon another; and since they still continued to be as great drunkards as before, he resolved to go on, except his grace would please to forbid him.

We are very sensible how heavy an accusation lieth upon the *catholicks* of *Ireland*; that some years before king *Charles II.* was restored, when theirs and the king's forces were entirely reduced, and the kingdom declared by the *rump* to be settled; after all his majesty's generals were forced to fly to *France*, or other countries, the heads of the said *catholicks* who remained here in an enslaved condition, joined to send an invitation to the duke of *Lorrain*; engaging, upon his appearing here with his forces, to deliver up the whole island to his power, and declare him their sovereign; which after the restoration was proved against them by dean *Boyle*, since primate, who produced the very original instrument at the board. The *catholicks* freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the same time appeal to all the world, whether a wiser, a better,

a better, a more honourable, or a more justifiable project could have been thought of. They were then reduced to slavery and beggary by the *english* rebels, many thousands of them murdered, the rest deprived of their estates and driven to live on a small pittance in the wilds of *Connaught*; at a time when either the *rump* or *Cromwell* absolutely governed the three kingdoms. And the question will turn upon this, whether the *catholicks*, deprived of all their possessions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter despair of ever seeing the monarchy restored, for the preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a considerable army to support them, rather than submit to so infamous an usurper as *Cromwell*, or such a bloody and ignominious conventicle as the *rump*. And I have often heard not only our friends the dissenters, but even our common enemy the conformists, who are conversant in the history of those times freely confess, that considering the miserable situation the *Irish* were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been instruments of restoring the lawful monarch, at least to the recovery of *England* and *Scotland* from those betrayers and sellers and murderers of his royal father.

To conclude, whereas the last quoted author complains very heavily and frequently of a BRAND that lies upon them, it is a great mistake: for the first original BRAND hath been long taken off; only we confess the scar will probably remain, and be visible for ever to those, who know the principles by which they acted, and until those principles shall be openly renounced; else it must continue to all generations, like the mark set upon *Cain*, which some authors say descended to all his posterity; or like the *roman* nose and *austrian* lip, or like the long bag of flesh hanging down from the gills of the people in *Piedmont*. But as for any brands fixed on schismatics for several years past, they have been all made with *cold iron*; like thieves who by the BENEFIT of THE
CLERGY

CLERGY are condemned to be only burned in the hand ; but escape the pain and the mark by being in *fee* with the JAYLOR. Which advantage the schismatical teachers will never want, who as we are assured, and of which there is a *very fresh instance*, have the souls and bodies and purses of their people a hundred times more at their mercy, than the *catholick* priests could ever pretend to.

Therefore, upon the whole, the *catholicks* do humbly petition (*without the least insinuation of threatening*) that upon this *favourable* juncture their incapacity for civil and military employments may be wholly taken off, for the very same reasons (besides others more cogent) that are now offered by their *brethren* the *dissenters*.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, etc.

Dublin, Nov. 1733.

In this controversy the author was again victorious, for the *test* was not repealed.

S O M E
R E A S O N S
A G A I N S T

The BILL for settling the Tythe of *Hemp, Flax,*
etc. by a *Modus*. *

THE clergy did little expect to have any cause of complaint against the present house of commons; who in the last sessions were pleased to throw out a bill ‡ sent them from the lords, which that reverend body apprehended would be very injurious to them, if it passed into a law: and who in the present sessions defeated the arts and endeavours of *schismaticks* to repeal the *sacramental test*.

For although it hath been allowed on all hands, that the former of those bills might by its necessary consequences be very displeasing to the lay gentlemen of the kingdom for many reasons purely secular; and that this last attempt for repealing the *test* did much more affect at present the temporal interest, than the spiritual; yet the whole body of the lower clergy have, upon both those occasions, expressed equal gratitude to that honourable house for their justice and steadiness, as if the clergy alone were to receive the benefit.

It must needs be therefore a great addition to the clergy's grief, that such an assembly as the present house of commons should now, with an expedition more than usual, agree to a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture with a clause, whereby the

* Many eminent clergymen who opposed this scheme applied to Dr. *Swift* to write against it, which he readily consented to upon their giving him some hints, and two days after the

following reasons were presented to several members of parliament, which had so good an effect that the bill was dropped.

‡ For the bishops to divide livings.

church is to lose two parts in three of the legal tythe in flax and hemp.

Some reasons why the clergy think such a law will be a great hardship upon them are, I conceive, those that follow. I shall venture to enumerate them with all deference due to that honourable assembly.

First, the clergy suppose that they have not, by any fault or demerit, incurred the displeasure of the nation's representatives: neither can the declared loyalty of the present set, from the highest prelate to the lowest vicar, be in the least disputed: because there are hardly ten clergymen through the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years past, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the *Hanover* line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the same merit.

There is not a landlord in the whole kingdom residing some part of the year at his country seat, who is not in his own conscience fully convinced, that the tythes of his minister have gradually sunk for some years past one third, or at least one fourth of their former value, exclusive of all non-solventcies.

The payment of tythes in this kingdom is subject to so many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from *papists* and *dissenters*, but even from those who profess themselves *protestants*; that by the expence, the trouble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are of all other rents the most precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.

The landlords in most parishes expect, as a compliment, that they shall pay little more than half the value of the tythes for the lands they hold in their own hands; which often consist of large domains: and it is the minister's interest to make them easy upon that article, when he considers what influence those gentlemen have upon their tenants.

The clergy cannot but think it extremely severe, that in a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture they alone must be the sufferers,

sufferers, who can least afford it. If, as I am told, there be a tax of three thousand pounds a year paid by the publick for a farther encouragement to the said manufacture, are not the clergy equal sharers in the charge with the rest of their fellow subjects? What satisfactory reason can be therefore given, why they alone should bear the whole additional weight, unless it will be alledged that their property is not upon an equal foot with the properties of other men. They acquire their own small pittance by at least as honest means as their neighbours the landlords possess their estates; and have been always supposed, except in rebellious or fanatical times, to have as good a title: for no families now in being can shew a more ancient. Indeed if it be true, that some persons (I hope they were not many) were seen to laugh when the rights of the clergy were mentioned; in this case an opinion may possibly be soon advanced, that they have no rights at all. And this is likely enough to gain ground, in proportion, as the contempt of all religion shall increase, which is already in a very forward way.

It is said, there will be also added in this bill a clause for diminishing the tythe of hops, in order to cultivate that useful plant among us: and here likewise the load is to lie entirely on the shoulders of the clergy, while the landlords reap all the benefit. It will not be easy to foresee where such proceedings are like to stop: or whether by the same authority, in civil times, a parliament may not as justly challenge the same power in reducing all things tytheable, not below the tenth part of the product (which is and ever will be the clergy's equitable right) but from a tenth part to a sixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by skilful persons, that the practice of taxing the clergy by parliament without their own consent is a new thing, not much above the date of seventy years: before which period, in times of peace they always taxed themselves.

But things are extremely altered at present: it is not now sufficient to tax them in common with their fellow subjects, with-

out imposing an additional tax upon them, from which, or from any thing equivalent, all their fellow subjects are exempt; and this in a country professing *christianity*.

The greatest part of the clergy throughout this kingdom have been stripped of their glebes by the confusion of times, by violence, fraud, oppression, and other unlawful means; all which glebes are now in the hands of the laity. So that they now are generally forced to lie at the mercy of landlords for a small piece of ground in their parishes, at a most exorbitant rent, and usually for a short term of years, whereon to build a house, and enable them to reside. Yet, in spite of these disadvantages I am a witness, that they are generally more constant residents than their brethren in *England*; where the meanest vicar hath a convenient dwelling with a barn, a garden, and a field or two for his cattle; besides the certainty of his little income from honest farmers, able and willing not only to pay him his dues, but likewise to make him presents according to their ability for his better support. In all which circumstances the clergy of *Ireland* meet with a treatment directly contrary.

It is hoped the honourable house will consider, that it is impossible for the most ill-minded, avaricious, or cunning clergyman to do the least injustice to the meanest cottager in his parish in any bargain for tythes, or other ecclesiastical dues. He can at the utmost only demand to have his tythe fairly laid out; and does not once in a hundred times obtain his demand. But every tenant, from the poorest cottager to the most substantial farmer, can and generally doth impose upon the minister, by fraud, by theft, by lyes, by perjuries, by insolence, and sometimes by force; notwithstanding the utmost vigilance and skill of himself and his proctor. Insomuch, that it is allowed, that the clergy in general receive little more than one half of their legal dues; not including the charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

The

The land rents of *Ireland* are computed to about two millions, whereof one tenth amounts to two hundred thousand pounds. The beneficed clergymen, excluding those of this city, are not reckoned to be above five hundred; by which computation they should each of them possess two hundred pounds a year, if those tythes were equally divided, although in well cultivated corn countries it ought to be more; whereas they hardly receive one half of that sum, with great defalcations, and in very bad payments. There are indeed a few glebes in the north pretty considerable, but if these and all the rest were in like manner equally divided, they would not add five pounds a year to every clergyman. Therefore, whether the condition of the clergy in general among us be justly liable to envy, or able to bear a heavy burthen, which neither the nobility nor gentry, nor tradesmen, nor farmers, will touch with one of their fingers; this, I say, is submitted to the honourable house.

One terrible circumstance in this bill is, that of turning the tythe of *flax* and *hemp* into what the lawyers call a *modus*, or a certain sum in lieu of a tenth part of the product. And by this practice of claiming a *modus* in many parishes by ancient custom, the clergy in both kingdoms have been almost incredible sufferers. Thus in the present case the tythe of a tolerable acre of *flax*, which by a medium is worth twelve shillings, is by the present bill reduced to four shillings. Neither is this the worst part in a *modus*; every determinate sum must in process of time sink from a fourth to a four and twentieth part, or a great deal lower, by that necessary fall attending the value of money, which is now at least nine tenths lower all over *Europe* than it was four hundred years ago, by a gradual decline; and even a third part at least within our own memories in purchasing almost every thing required for the necessities or conveniencies of life; as any gentleman can attest, who hath kept house for twenty years past. And this will equally affect poor countries as well as rich. For,

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although I look upon it as an impossibility that this kingdom should ever thrive under its present disadvantages, which without a miracle must still increase; yet when the whole cash of the nation shall sink to fifty thousand pounds, we must in all our traffick abroad either of import or export go by the general rate, at which money is valued in those countries that enjoy the common privileges of human kind. For this reason no corporation (if the clergy may presume to call themselves one) should by any means grant away their properties in perpetuity upon any consideration whatsoever; which is a rock that many corporations have split upon to their great impoverishment, and sometimes to their utter undoing; because they are supposed to subsist for ever, and because no determination of money is of any certain perpetual intrinsic value. This is known enough in *England*, where estates let for ever, some hundred years ago, by several ancient noble families do not at this present pay their posterity a twentieth part of what they are now worth at an easy rent.

A tax affecting one part of a nation, which already bears its full share in all parliamentary impositions, cannot possibly be just, except it be inflicted as a punishment upon that body of men, which is taxed, for some great demerit or danger to the publick apprehended from those upon whom it is laid: thus the *papists* and *non-jurors* have been doubly taxed for refusing to give proper securities to the government; which cannot be objected against the clergy. And therefore if this bill should pass, I think it ought to be with a preface, shewing wherein they have offended, and for what disaffection or other crime they are punished.

If an additional excise upon ale, or a duty upon flesh and bread were to be enacted, neither the victualler, butcher, or baker would bear any more of the charge than for what themselves consumed, but it would be an equal general tax through the whole kingdom: whereas by this bill the clergy alone are avowedly condemned to be deprived of their ancient, inherent, undisputed

ed rights, in order to encourage a manufacture by which all the rest of the kingdom are supposed to be gainers.

This bill is directly against *magna charta*, whereof the first clause is for confirming the inviolable rights of holy church; as well as contrary to the oath taken by all our kings at their coronation, where they swear to defend and protect the church in all rights.

A tax laid upon employments is a very different thing. The possessors of civil and military employments are no corporation; neither are they any part of our constitution; their salaries, pay and perquisites are all changeable at the pleasure of the prince who bestows them, although the army be paid from funds raised and appropriated by the legislature. But the clergy, as they have little reason to expect, so they desire no more than their ancient legal dues; only indeed with the removal of many grievous impediments in the collection of them; which it is to be feared they must wait for until more favourable times. It is well known that they have already, of their own accord, shewn great indulgence to their people upon this very article of *flax*, seldom taking above a fourth part of their tythe for small parcels, and oftentimes nothing at all from new beginners; waiting with patience until the farmers were able, and until greater quantities of land were employed in that part of husbandry; never suspecting that their good intentions should be perverted in so singular a manner to their detriment by that very assembly, which, during the time that convocations (which are an original part of our constitution, ever since *christianity* became national among us) are thought fit to be suspended, God knows for what reason, or from what provocations; I say from that very assembly, who during the intervals of convocations should rather be supposed to be guardians of the rights and properties of the clergy, than to make the least attempt upon either.

I have not heard upon enquiry, that any of those gentlemen,
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who among us without doors are called the court-party, discover the least zeal in this affair. If they had thoughts to interpose, it might be conceived they would shew their displeasure against this bill, which must very much lessen the value of the king's patronage upon promotion to vacant sees, in the disposal of deaneries, and other considerable preferments in the church, which are in the donation of the crown; whereby the viceroys will have fewer good preferments to bestow on their dependents, as well as upon the kindred of members, who may have a sufficient stock of that sort of merit, whatever it may be, which may in future times most prevail.

The *dissenters*, by not succeeding in their endeavours to procure a repeal of the *test*, have lost nothing, but continue in a full enjoyment of their toleration; while the clergy without giving the least offence are by this bill deprived of a considerable branch of their ancient legal rights, whereby the schismatical party will have the pleasure of gratifying their revenge—*hoc graii voluere*.

The farmer will find no relief by this *modus*, because when his present lease shall expire his landlord will infallibly raise the rent in an equal proportion upon every part of land where flax is sown, and have so much a better security for payment at the expence of the clergy.

If we judge by things past, it little avails that this bill is to be limited to a certain time of ten, twenty, or thirty years. For no landlord will ever consent that a law shall expire, by which he finds himself a gainer; and of this there are many examples as well in *England* as in this kingdom.

The great end of this bill is by proper encouragement to extend the linen manufacture into those countries where it hath hitherto been little cultivated: but this encouragement of *lessening the tythe of flax and hemp* is one of such a kind as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary effect. Because, if I am right-
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ly informed no set of men hath, for their number and fortunes, been more industrious and successful than the clergy, in introducing that manufacture into places which were unacquainted with it, by persuading their people to sow *flax* and *hemp*, by procuring seed for them, and by having them instructed in the management thereof; and this they did not without reasonable hopes of increasing the value of their parishes after some time, as well as of promoting the benefit of the publick. But if this *modus* should take place, the clergy will be so far from gaining, that they will become losers by their extraordinary care, by having their best arable lands turned to *flax* and *hemp*, which are reckoned great impoverishers of land: they cannot therefore be blamed, if they should shew as much zeal to prevent its being introduced or improved in their parishes as they hitherto have shewed in the introducing and improving it. This, I am told, some of them have already declared, at least so far as to resolve not to give themselves any more trouble than other men about promoting a manufacture, by the success of which they only of all men are to be sufferers. Perhaps the giving even a further encouragement than the law doth, as it now stands, to a set of men who might on many accounts be so useful to this purpose, would be no bad method of having the great end of the bill more effectually answered: but this is what they are far from desiring; all they petition for is no more than to continue on the same footing with the rest of their fellow subjects.

If this *modus* of paying by the acre be to pass into a law, it were to be wished, that the same law would not only appoint one or more sworn surveyors in each parish to measure the lands, on which *flax* and *hemp* are sown, but also settle the price of surveying, and determine whether the incumbent or farmer is to pay for each annual survey. Without something of this kind there must constantly be disputes between them, and the neighbouring justices of peace must be teized as often as those disputes happen.

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I had written thus far, when a paper was sent to me with several reasons against the bill, some whereof, although they have been already touched, are put in a better light, and the rest did not occur to me. I shall deliver them in the author's own words.

I. That tythes are the patrimony of the church; and if not of divine original, yet at least of great antiquity.

II. That all purchases and leases of tytheable lands, for many centuries past, have been made and taken, subject to the demand of tythes, and those lands sold and taken just so much the cheaper on that account.

III. That if any lands are exempted from tythes, or the legal demands of such tythes lessened by act of parliament, so much value is taken from the proprietor of the tythes, and vested in the proprietor of the lands, or his head tenants.

IV. That no innocent unoffending person can be so deprived of his property without the greatest violation of common justice.

V. That to do this upon a prospect of encouraging the linen or any other manufacture is acting upon a very mistaken and unjust supposition; inasmuch as the price of the lands so occupied will be no way lessened to the farmer by such a law.

VI. That the clergy are content chearfully to bear (as they now do) any burthen in common with their fellow subjects, either for the support of his majesty's government, or the encouragement of the trade of the nation, but think it very hard that they should be singled out to pay heavier taxes than others at a time, when by the decrease of the value of their parishes they are less able to bear them.

VII. That the legislature hath heretofore distinguished the clergy by exemptions, and not by additional loads, and the present clergy of the kingdom hope they have not deserved worse of the legislature than their predecessors.

VIII. That by the original constitution of these kingdoms, the clergy had the sole right of taxing themselves, and were in possession

cession of that right as low as the restoration; and if that right be now devolved upon the commons by the cession of the clergy, the commons can be considered in this case in no other light than as the guardians of the clergy.

IX. That besides those tythes always in the possession of the clergy, there are some portions of tythes lately come into their possession by purchase; that if this clause should take place, they would not be allowed the benefit of these purchasers upon an equal foot of advantage with the rest of their fellow subjects. And that some tythes in the hands of impropiators are under settlements and mortgages.

X. That the gentlemen of this house should consider, that loading the clergy is loading their own younger brothers and children, with this additional grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer to give to the elder and richer; and,

Lastly, That if it were at any time just and proper to do this, it would however be too severe to do it now, when all the tythes of the kingdom are known for some years past to have sunk above one third part in their value.

Any income in the hands of the clergy is at least as useful to the publick as the same income in the hands of the laity.

It were more reasonable to grant the clergy in three parts of the nation an additional support than to diminish their present subsistence.

Great employments are and will be in the hands of *englishmen*; nothing left for the younger sons of *irishmen* but vicarages, tide-waiters places, *etc.* therefore no reason to make them worse.

The *modus* upon the *flax* in *England* affects only lands reclaimed since the year 1690, and is at the rate of five shillings the *english* acre, which is equivalent to eight shillings and eight pence *irish*, and that to be paid before the farmer removed it from the field. *Flax* is a manufacture of little consequence in *England*, but is the staple in *Ireland*, and if it increases (as it probably

will) must in many places jostle out corn, because it is more gainful.

The clergy of the established church have no interest like those of the church of *Rome*, distinct from the true interest of their country, and therefore ought to suffer under no distinct impositions or taxes of any kind.

The bill for settling the *modus* of *flax* in *England* was brought in the first year of the reign of king *George I.* when the clergy lay very unjustly under the imputation of some disaffection; and to encourage the bringing in of some fens in *Lincolnshire* which were not to be continued under *flax*; but it left all lands where *flax* had been sown before that time under the same condition of tything, in which they were before the passing of that bill: whereas this bill takes away what the clergy are actually possessed of.

That the woolen manufacture is the staple of *England*, as the linen is that of *Ireland*, yet no attempt was ever made in *England* to reduce the tythe of wool for the encouragement of that manufacture. This manufacture hath already been remarkably favoured by the clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with less than half, some with six pence a garden, and some have taken nothing.

Employments, they say, have been taxed; the reasons for which taxation will not hold with regard to property, at least till employments become inheritances. The commons always have had so tender a regard to property, that they never would suffer any law to pass, whereby any particular persons might be aggrieved without their own consent.

N. B. *Some alterations have been made in the bill about the modus, since the above paper was written; but they are of little moment.*

F I N I S.



